DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 050 302 AA 000 698

AUTHOR	Adams, Raymond S.; And Others
TITLE	Psychology and the Training of Teachers of the Disadvantaged: A Final Report - Part III.
INSTITUTION	Missouri Univ., Columbia. Coll. of Education.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Educational Personnel Development.
PUB DATE	70
GRANT	OEG-0-9-354719-1712-725
NOTE	187p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	*Abstracts, Behavioral Objectives, *Disadvantaged Youth, *Psychology, *Student Teacher Relationship, *Teacher Education
IDENTIFIERS	Training Teacher Trainers Project, University of Missouri

ABSTRACT

The potential relevance of psychology in the development of a program for training teachers of the disadvantaged is the focus of this report. Strategy employed to examine the psychology area consisted of: (1) a consortium, made up of five leaders in the field and a moderator; (2) an extensive search of contemporary literature, with abstracts of relevant items, and organization of the abstracts as to statements of empirically supportable facts, statements not empirically supported, recommendations, and needed comments. This report presents: (1) the deliberations of the Psychology consortium; (2) a condensed version of the material abstracted in the literature search; (3) a conceptual mapping of the field, accompanied by brief listings of relevant facts; and (4) a final summation. The abstracted information appears under the headings of: The Disadvantaged Family; The Disadvantaged Environment and Cognition; The Disadvantaged Environment and Language; Self-Concept; Expectations; Attitudes; Teachers; and Programs. The summation discusses the Nature of Psychology and A Psychology of Disadvantage. In broad terms, it is concluded that psychological insight and understanding will help the teacher to understand disadvantaged children. For related documents, see ED 050 300-301 and ED 050 303-306. (DB)

ED 050 302

PSYCHOLOGY AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS OF THE DISADVANTAGED

A FINAL REPORT

Part III

Contract
No. OEG-0-9-354719-1712-725
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare

by

RAYMOND S. ADAMS
David L. Johnson Terence C. Halliday
and Fred Marcus

College of Education
University of Missouri
Columbia
1970

AA 000 698

PREFACE

This is the third of a series of reports concerned with the teaching of disadvantaged children. They are the direct outcome of the proposal funded as part of the U.S. Office of Education's T.T.T. Project. The initial proposal was presented under the names of Samuel R. Keys, Raymond S. Adams and William D. Hedges as co-project directors and Bob G. Woods as Dean of the College of Education. Prior to the writing of the proposal, a planning committee after deliberating over general priorities agreed on the focus that was adopted in the present undertaking. That committee comprised: Robert R. Wheeler, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Kansas City, Mo., William D. Hedges, (then) Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Clayton, Mo., (now) Chairman of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Missouri at Columbia, and also from the University of Missouri at Columbia, Samuel R. Keys, Associate Dean of the College of Education, W. Francis English, Dean of Arts and Science, Donald O. Cowgill, Professor of Sociology, Ralf C. Bedell, Professor of Education, and Raymond S. Adams, Associate Professor of Social Research, Education and Sociology.

This present report confines its attention to the potential relevance of psychology in the development of a teacher training program. It represents only one section of the initial phase of what was planned as a multi-phase project. In order to set the present report in perspective it is useful to outline the rationale that lies behind the whole scheme.

We started initially depressed and impressed by the fact that for the disadvantaged child, the consequences of disadvantage are a deprived and unhappy past, a drab and unpromising present and a future beset with hopelessness. We recognized that if education were to combat the deprivations of disadvantage, it would have to undergo substantial reform and improvement. However, whatever the nature of this reform and improvement might be, it would be of no use if the teachers of disadvantaged children remained incompetent to deal with their unique educational problem. For this reason, we felt that the most immediate task was to go about training teachers who could operate successfully with disadvantaged children--irrespective of the extent to which school systems had undergone organisational and economic reform themselves.

We were led by our emphasis on teaching to focus initially on the teacher-pupil transaction. In the most down-to-earth terms, the educational process requires the teacher to act as an intermediary between the child and the subject matter of the curriculum. As an intermediary, the teacher *translates* subject matter into forms *appropriate* for the level of conceptual development of the child. How *efficient* the teacher is then, depends on (a) her subject matter competency, (b) her ability to understand the child's conceptual state, and (c) her ability to mediate between the two. It has been clearly demonstrated (Coleman, 1968) that teachers have failed spectacularly as mediators for the disadvantaged child. Available evidence suggests that this failure stems *not* from ignorance of subject matter but rather from a lack of understanding of how the disadvantaged child thinks, how he feels and how he 'sees' the world around him.

While the problem may be stated in relatively simple terms, solutions cannot be. What we have here, is an 'understanding-gap' that separates the teacher from the taught--the ghetto dweller from the mainstream of American life. And this is a culture gap--sometimes as wide if not wider than the gap between American culture and say Japanese. The illustration may be overly dramatic, but the ingredients are the same. The two cultures, ghetto and non-ghetto, are grossly ignorant of each others ways of life. Egocentrically and ethnocentrically, they perceive their own virtues and the other's vices, seldom seeing their own vices and the other's virtues. Because the two cultures have long been separated, their respective inhabitants have seldom felt constrained to examine their intercultural relationships. Now with protest and discontent burgeoning, and intercultural 'incidents' increasing, we have become aware of the need to pay attention to the social problem in our midst. What we see does not enchant. We have, in the case of the disadvantaged it seems, tangible evidence that violates the American dream.

But merely to identify the problem and become intensely concerned, is not to solve it. Solution depends on overcoming the inertia of history--the social conditions that led to the extremes of poverty and disadvantage. They are, though we may be unwilling to admit it, still with us to a considerable degree. We have eliminated the practices of slavery but the attitudes that made it socially acceptable in the first place, have only undergone slight evolutions. Attitudes towards ethnic minorities and the economically unsuccessful, still reflect older beliefs in the social, moral and intellectual inadequacy of those who can be so classified. Given the irrationality of such attitudes and beliefs, and given their dysfunctional social consequences, reform is patently necessary. But the task is obviously a mammoth one. It will not be accomplished by haphazard, piece-meal attacks on selected problems here and there. Nor will it be accomplished immediately. We can anticipate that efforts at amelioration will intensify over the years, in range, in scope and in focus. One focus, and we think a critically important one, will be education. However, education has not yet served the disadvantaged community well. It too is bowed down by its own inertia. Consequently, if education is to change, it too will have to do more than make minor modifications to its venerable structure.

Because we believed that educational change in the training of teachers of disadvantaged children would need to be substantial, we envisaged (i) the development of a comprehensive and integrated 'system' (in the systems theory sense of the word) for training teachers of the underprivileged so that they become experts in understanding the world of the disadvantaged; (ii) the implementation of that system as both pre-service and in-service teacher training programs, and most importantly, (iii) the utilization of this system in-action as a training program for the trainers of teachers of the disadvantaged.

However, another assumption underlay our initial planning. We did not necessarily believe that all change must necessarily be for the better. We were convinced that some needless expenditure of money and effort could be avoided by careful and systematic planning. We also believed that careful and systematic planning would be facilitated if advantage were taken of whatever up-to-date knowledge relevant to the problem could be gathered, evaluated and used. Because we thought that a substantial amount of the knowledge available in the social sciences about the world of the disadvantaged child would be relevant, we argued that it should therefore be accumulated, distilled and, when approved, be incorporated into our new system for training teachers.

While in accordance with the Triple T requirements, our principal objective was to provide a training program that would be viable for preparing trainers of teachers of the underprivileged, we held that such viability cannot be demonstrated unless competent teachers are being produced. Thus, hand in hand with the main objective went a correlative one of developing a program for the actual training of teachers. This program for teachers of underprivileged children then would serve two purposes: (1) to provide concrete evidence of the practical results of the system, (2) to provide a continuing source of evaluation of and feedback to the main programs.

It should be emphasized at the outset that the training of teachers involves more than the trainers themselves. It involves curricula, equipment, plant, and, in fact, all the paraphernalia of the entire teaching program. Consequently, any improvement in any of these is, in effect, an improvement of the trainer. The project provided not only for improvement in the training of the trainers, but also improvement in teaching aids and curricula as well. Further, it provided for improvement in the quality of supplementary training given by school administrators and supervisory teachers. Finally, in order to follow through, it provided for the development of a completely new trainer-training program per se.

The program can best be seen as a series of interrelated Tasks. These Tasks cluster for form four major Operations. These Operations are respectively: (1) research and development: (2) activation, (3) dissemination; and (4) application. Operation 1 represents the 'planning stage', Operation 2 represents the 'pilot stage', and Operations 3 and 4 represent the 'operating stage'. The present report is concerned only with one aspect of Operation 1. As such it is consistent with the other aspects of Operation 1. They all employ the same strategy. It is different from the others in that its focus is on community development.

Rationale. Educational action should be based on scientifically gleaned information. Regrettably, there is no empirical evidence available that adequately specifies the consequences of any program for the disadvantaged. Educators cannot say with assurance 'if you do so and so with disadvantaged children, then such and such *will* result'. The best available information at the moment consists of teachers' 'good ideas'--the assembled 'folk wisdom' of the past. Regrettably the *worst* available information also comes from the same source. This folk wisdom as we have seen, has been grossly inadequate in meeting the needs of the disadvantaged child. This is partly because there is no *a priori* basis for distinguishing between the best and the worst, and partly because no attempts have been made to accumulate, integrate and organize the insights and understandings that expert practitioners have. However, other social sciences have been concerned with the underprovileged for some time. They have evidence and insights that could be valuable if adapted to educational purposes. Given the criticism of current educational practice, it seems wise at this point in time, to take advantage of any scientifically derived evidence no matter its origin, provided that in the judgement of educationists, it is seen as potentially useful.

The problem that initially confronted us then was to select among the different social science areas available. After due deliberation the following were selected: psychology; sociology; linguistics (because of the central part language plays in education); social work; community development; and educational research. To these six we added a seventh that could not be strictly classified as scientific. We felt that practical experience should not be completely disregarded. We knew that teachers had insights and understandings that were invaluable. The fact that they were not necessarily well documented in the literature or well integrated in the way that an academic theoretician might systematise his understandings, was not a sufficient deterrent to prevent our attempting to probe this area too.

Our intention then was to attempt to establish a bridge between education and each of these areas. To mix the metaphor, we wished to begin a process of translation into educationally useful terms of what might otherwise be regarded as exotic and esoteric information exclusively the property of the social sciences.

Our strategy in approaching each of the areas was the same in each case. It was twofold. First, we were to assemble a group of five acknowledged leaders in the field and confront them with the question: 'Given what insights you have into your area and knowledge you have about it, what do you consider the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand'. In the discussion that ensued, the task of the moderator (an educationist) was to confine attention to this single-minded question and to probe the implications of the point raised. Initial experimentation led us to conclude that an all day session (with suitable breaks) provided optimal returns. The discussion was tape recorded and the resulting transcript then provided a permanent record of currently salient ideas. The second strategy entailed an extensive search of contemporary literature. This was to be undertaken by graduate students in the specific areas. Because they knew available sources, and because their conceptual orientation would be a function of their recent training, they would, we thought, provide the best media. They were initially instructed in the objectives of the exercise and the frames of reference they were to use. They too had to adopt a similar single-minded focus--the relevancy of the writings they were examining for the teacher who was teaching disadvantaged children. They were charged to (i) survey all contemporary writing that dealt with the disadvantaged condition, (ii) abstract from each example whatever was thought to be (even remotely) relevant to the central issue, (iii) organize the abstracts so that listed after the bibliographical data, were (a) a statement of facts that were empirically supported (or were known to be empirically supportable), (b) a statement of assertions not empirically supported, (c) any relevant recommendations made within the article, and (d) where thought necessary, any comments. The abstracted material was then recorded onto McBee cards. Subsequently, the complete array of McBee cards was studied in order that a basis for conceptual mapping of the whole area could be developed. Thereupon, the McBee cards were again examined, this time to relate their content to the respective conceptual categories. This completed, we would then have a systematically ordered and organized set of information on which the next stage of the planning process could build. The next stage was to involve the construction of a set of behavioral objectives consonant with the distilled information, and appropriate for teachers of disadvantaged children.

This present report presents the outcomes of the examination of the Psychology area. Specifically it records (i) the deliberations of the Psychology consortium, (ii) a condensed version of the material abstracted in the literature search, (iii) a conceptual mapping of the field, accompanied by brief listings of relevant facts, (iv) a final summation. The report has been organized on two assumptions. First that the gathering together of Psychology information relevant to the education of the disadvantaged would prove useful to those converned with developing teacher training programs. In this sense, the report is a source book. Second, that the outcomes of our own deliberations on the problems of educating disadvantaged children might also prove helpful to others who have similar concerns. However, because we recognize that the planners of training programs are as uniquely individualistic as the problems they confront, our emphasis is on the first rather than the second. Most readers, we assume, will make use of the first three sections. We of course, will make most use of the fourth. It will provide the pad from which the next step of practical implementation will be launched.

As well as the co-directors a number of people involved in this part of the project should receive special mention. Initially, fiscal responsibility for the project rested with Dean Keys. When he accepted appointment at Kansas State University the task was taken up by B. Charles Leonard. The responsibility for the literature search fell to David Johnson, Terence Halliday, and Fred Marcus, while Fred Gies and Barney Madden exercised supervisory control. Fred Gies and Charles Leonard also provided liaison services when the author became a Visiting Professorial Fellow at Massey University in New Zealand. Finally Kirsten Morgan typed the manuscript and devoted time and energy to coordinating many aspects of the undertaking here.

Raymond S. Adams,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand
December 1970.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Section I: The Consortium: Part I 1
Part II 43

Section II: Literature search abstracts (alphabetically by author) 79

Section III: Abstracted information: 123
- The disadvantaged family 125
- The disadvantaged environment and cognition 128
- The disadvantaged environment and language 130
- Self-concept 132
- Expectations 136
- Attitudes 140
- Teachers 144
- Programs 146

Section IV: Summation 157
- The nature of psychology 157
- A psychology of disadvantage 162
- Conclusion 176

SECTION I

This section is devoted entirely to the consortium held in New York in January 1970. Its participants were:

Professor Vernon T. Allen,
Department of Psychology,
University of Wisconsin.

Professor Lawrence Kohlberg,
Laboratory of Human Development,
Harvard University.

Professor Martin Deutsch, Director,
Institute for Developmental Studies,
New York University.

Professor J. McV. Hunt,
Psychological Development Laboratory,
University of Illinois.

Professor Robert D. Hess,
School of Education,
Stanford University.

and, as moderator,

Professor Raymond S. Adams,
College of Education, and
Center for Research in Social Behavior,
University of Missouri at Columbia.

The detail of the consortium discussion is contained in the bulk of the paragraphs that follow. Perhaps concealed however, may be the goodwill and sincerity that characterized the exchange. Throughout, the discussants addressed themselves single-mindedly to our educational problem. They accepted our mandate without cavil and demonstrated sincere concern for our aspirations.

Several conventions have been used in editing the transcript. First, the speakers have not been identified separately although the moderator has--so that his psychological naivete will not be mistakingly attributed to the experts. Speakers are denoted with one asterisk, the moderator with two. Second, an attempt has been made to preserve the essential messages of the discussion faithfully. However, in order to go part-way towards meeting the expectations that readers might have about printed script, an attempt has been made to convert oral language forms to those thought more appropriate for written language.

** I would like to suggest as a modus operandi, that for a few minutes I recapitulate the idea behind the project and then we engage in relatively free form discussion. I've got some focussing questions later on if they are necessary but they may not be. You'll forgive the sort of programmatic nature of this discourse. I've now given it four times in one form or another.

The reason for the existence of the project lies in the fact that the U.S. Office of Education invited us, amongst other institutions, to consider ways in which the teacher training system might be reformed. In order to give some focus to our attempts at reform, we decided to work in the area of disadvantaged teaching. So we started with the initial question that if in fact we were going to develop a new program in the teaching of disadvantaged children, where should we logically begin? It seemed reasonable to us to start with an accumulation of what appeared to be the latest information relevant to the problem of teaching disadvantaged children. If we were to do that, we felt that there should be two strategies that would be useful. First of all, we should collect together a variety of people who would have the most up-to-date understandings and tap their knowledge, and secondly, we should initiate a literature search so that we could cover also what has been written to date. One basic assumption that informed our purpose was the belief that even if education knew something about teaching and about educating children, there were among the sciences other insights and understandings that would be useful to us. However, in order to provide an organisation base, we also decided to predetermine the areas on which to focus. So we elected to direct our attention principally at psychology, sociology, linguistics, social work, and community development, asking the fundamental question: Given the status of the particular discipline at this particular point in time, what appears most likely to be relevant to the problem of teaching disadvantaged children? The intention was to take this information and subject it to an educational filter and then, on the strength of what was thought to be educationally viable, (given the limitations that education itself has to work with), develop a teacher-training program. This program would be complete with curricula, computer assisted instruction, programmed learning devices, simulated situations, textbooks, and so on. Once this program had been developed, it would be tested and evaluated and then eventually institutionalized so that we could begin to specialize in the production of teachers of disadvantaged children. That, in brief, covers the sort of basic approach and the basic idea and the basic strategy. For our present discussion then the focussing question is: "Given what you know about psychology, and irrespective of whether it can be completely research-substantiated or not, what do you think the teacher of disadvantaged children needs to know, think, feel and understand?" That is the key question. Have I explained it adequately?

* What the teacher needs to know or what the teacher needs to do?

** I'll buy both.

* Could you tell us something about the prior meetings that you have had?

** We had one with linguists some time ago and out of that has come a report which we think represents a crystallisation of their position plus the positions taken in the writing. The participants were: Shuy, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington; Stockwell, UCLA; Loflin, Missouri; Troike, Texas; Allen, Minnesota.

* Maybe it would help us if you kind of gave us a sketch of the kind of conclusions that came from this meeting, then we'd know a little bit better how to come in at this stage.

* And perhaps the sociologists ..... and the others too.

* You've got a lot of input.

** Right, and at the moment it isn't organized. The linguistic one is reasonably under control. The other ones are so recent and were so packed that I don't think I can respond adequately about them. The linguistic message is basically one of cultural sensitivity and functional relativity. They were concerned to have it recognized that in a given context, language performs a function. Thus to teach language effectively really becomes a matter of identifying the context and the functions and providing the opportunities for choice. That's very, very cryptically what the message is. In the process, there were incidental points made like for example: there was some suspicion of the basis of Bereiter and Engelman's positions, from a linguistic's point of view; there was some suspicion of Bernstein's position from a linguistic point of view also; it was necessary to recognize the viability of different dialect *forms and, by implication, the obligation to find out what the language of different socio-economic and ethnic and cultural groups was. Their basic message was to encourage teachers to be tolerant of language. The implication is that they should give up some of their 'hang-ups' about the correction of language, and hold back until the time is right to make corrections, until it seems functionally relevant to the kid.*

*	*I might just say here that I have a new paper that Courtney Caston sent me last week and it hasn't been published, and her conclusions are that emphasis has to be placed really on the knowledge of communicative competence and how it develops.*

**	*O.K. That sums it up much better than I did.*

*	*What age limit are we talking about?*

**	*Preparation for elementary and secondary teaching.*

*	*Not pre-school?*

**	*Not directly, although the report will be read and used by the people in our institution who work with pre-school children. As well, if information about pre-schoolers is relevant to the higher levels, we ought to have it anyway.*

*	*O.K. Well, last night I sat down and after contemplating, made a list of the various things that a teacher should know. I have it here. I'm perfectly willing to back most of these up with evidence although some of the things are suppositions. I took it also that when you talk about teachers' understanding you mean more than simply knowing at the verbal level. It soaks into your basic operations and feelings?*

*	*O.K.*

*	*Do you want me to get these things together as a way of starting us off?*

**	*Please.*

*	*Could I ask an orienting question before we get under way? Are you assuming in this that the educational system must be conducted in its present form--one teacher per class so that what we have is something like the present social situation?*

**	*I think initially we have to accept the system as given.*

*	*We have to start from that.*

**	*Yes. However, if there are developments within the system that seem to be likely to occur, then I think we can relax that restriction* a bit. But at the moment we're assuming that the teacher as a 'victim' of the system, has no control over it, but she's still got to deal with the problem of teaching her kids.

*   Did the sociologists come out with any conclusions about transformations that take place in the system?

**   Well, they initially gave me static about the problem of not focussing on system change. Eventually in order to adapt to my requirement, we agreed that one of the things the teacher should become familiar with is how the system works and some of the ways in which system change can be induced. They also raised the question of the extent to which the kids should be aware of the nature of the social system of the classroom so that they become participants in the classroom game just as the teacher becomes an intelligent participant in the school game or the education system game.

*   Sort of maximizing participation.

**   Maximizing awareness more than anything else. We did talk about paraprofessionals and the use that could be made of paraprofessionals by the professional teacher.

*   More than just as monitors?

**   Yes.

*   May I ask you who was there in sociology?

**   Mel Tumin from Princeton; Lee Rainwater, Harvard; Ray Mack, Northwestern; Sylvia Fava, N.Y.U; and Dave Bordua, Illinois.

*   When you use the term disadvantaged, what do you mean?

**   I mean it sociologically, that is, whatever people call disadvantaged.

*   I raised it only because having moved to the west coast recently I'm very sensitive to the differences among ethnic groups, so that what one would say to a teacher who is teaching poor Chicanos might be quite different than what one would say to a teacher who is teaching poor black kids, which in turn would be different than what a teacher should know if she is teaching kids who have just come in from Hong Kong within the last year and speak no English, so..... It's a rhetorical question obviously. I just wanted to bring out the fact that sometimes when we talk about the disadvantaged we act as if they were all black, inner-city, poor kids.

* Like in the south, disadvantage really breaks down into many sub categories. It seemed implied in your question that the teacher, in fact, was opposite in race and opposite in social class to her kids. That is, we primarily think of talking about middle-class teachers who are, let us say, teaching in a black school or anyway a different ethnic group. It seemed to be the assumption.

** Are you suggesting individuation of programs according to the teacher characteristics too?

* No. I'm saying that it seems to me the assumption made by your question is that we are dealing with teachers who in fact are probably of different racial, ethnic and social class membership than their disadvantaged children.

** It is implied and assumed--principally because the facts of the situation show that to be the case. However, if there are points to make about somebody who does not share these characteristics and who is ethnically simpatico, then we should get that into the record too.

* I noticed as you went through the various groups, including this group, that there's no minority group professional representation - Mexican American, black, what have you. Did you do this deliberately? Because there are quite a few people that could have made a contribution.

** No, we didn't do it deliberately. We assumed that cognitive competency and academic functioning was not a function of color, and we didn't specify. Now we are under attack for not having done so. (And I regret it at this point that we did not do so simply to placate the criticism.) But we wanted people who demonstrated a certain kind of expertise.

* We might come out with the same conclusions but I think that sometimes it would have greater impact if it was a minority representative group.

** It would have been politically and socially expedient. I should point out though that we did have groups of classroom teachers who were predominantly black, two groups of about seven each and only one white. Of the group of educationists here the other day--professional education people from colleges of education--four out of six were black.

* May I ask who you had in the educational group? I'm just trying to get a picture.

** Fred Rogers from NYU; J. B. Jones from Texas Southern; Craigmile, Missouri; Keys, Kansas State; Bear from Kansas City. We were anticipating having Edmund Gordon but he at the very latest hour--the night before to be precise, he cancelled.

** Have we positioned enough? Would you be kind enough to start?

* I'm not sure, in terms of the positioning, that what I will do is wise but it's the way I looked at it when I looked at it from afar and it will start things off. You know two of the things, I think, that will come up are: (a) There is a great deal of research that is yet to be done, (b) there are different kinds of points of view that have not gotten into our thinking that need to be canvassed.

** I'm allowed to ask questions?

* Yes, you're allowed to ask questions. And as a matter of fact maybe I can supplement some of this stuff. I simply wanted to kind of get an overall answer to the foundational question. What I tried to do was simply sit down and after making some notes as we were on the plane and sort my ideas out. I must confess that my reference is to the pre-school domain. But it's cast in terms of really quite general principles.

My first point is that circumstances make a substantial difference in the development of competence, that is, in the development of abilities, beliefs, standards of conduct. Nothing I suspect is more tragic than failing to recognise this when the kid is doing as well as can be expected from previous grades, from test scores, IQ's, and that sort of thing. Now in this company this may go unquestioned. In Jensen it was questioned, of course, and....

** (We'll have to talk about Jensen sometime.)

* I can document this if you want me to just indicate the nature of the documentation for your own record. I'm thinking particularly of the Scottish surveys of Godfrey Thompson, and before that, Cattell's 1937 prediction of this galloping plunge toward intellectual bankruptcy which in the Godfrey Thompson thing did not go down a point and a half but went up about three points. And, Smith at Honolulu: in over fifteen years with the same population, instead of going down a point and a half, he got a gain in the mean IQ's. And Wheeler showed a similar ten point gain in ten years at the TVA instead of a loss--again from the same families. And Finch in Minnesota, in the twenty years between the 20's and the 40's, with a higher proportion of the population going to high

school, he's got gains of from ten to fifteen points. Now those are on the same tests. And then there was the study of World War II draftees who were given the old army alpha test. The mean of World War II draftees was at the eighty-second percentile of World War I draftees. So as long as you keep your standardization the same, instead of the drop you get the rise. Well, there is other evidence in this but that's enough.....

* *Klineburg's migration studies.*

* *And Miranda, from Puerto Rico--where you actually have some kids at seven who as a result of industrialization, have higher mental ages than their parents? Now, the second point, or (B) in this outline, that children of poverty typically, (and I use children of poverty in the broad sense to cut across ethnic groups)--children of poverty typically lack many of the circumstances providing opportunities to develop competence that the children of the middle-class routinely have. Or to put that in another way - they lack many of the circumstantial opportunities to develop competences and motives and standards that children of the middle-class have. And if you want to document that, I think for illustrative purposes perhaps the best study is that of Vicky Simmons and her husband at Nashville. What they've done is to pull together eight urban, or eight professional families..... am I telling you something you already know?*

** *Now we may have caught it in the literature search. At the moment I don't know whether or not.*

* *It isn't in the literature yet..... eight urban professional families, eight of them urban poor, eight of the rural poor. The professional families are blacks and whites - three black and five white. The researchers have as the target person in each of these families, a three year old and they have an observer who becomes like furniture - gets in and gets to know the family. First of all, what has been reported is the number of what they call environmental force units, per unit of time, per hour. These environmental force units are interactions with that three year old initiated by older members of the family. These amount to fortyone versus seventeen for the urban poor--forty-one in the professional versus seventeen in the urban poor, versus eighteen in the rural poor. So this is not a matter of race. This is*

a matter of social class and is a function of opportunities for this kind of thing. The reactions to the interactions initiated by the three year old were also very different. Typically in the non-professional family, everybody says - "don't do that, stop that, quit that, I said, stop it" - but in the professional families there's typically an explanation - "can't you see I'm on the telephone, can't you see I'm getting dinner, can't you see I'm doing this?"

* *This is typical of Bernstein's elaborative code.*

* *That's the same kind of thing. Among the urban and rural poor families it is "stop that or go away and leave me be, get out of here, I can't stand you," etc., so much for the main differences. However, I asked the observers (stimulated here a little bit by Courtney Caston and others), how many instances are there in these various groups where the environmental force units, initiated by the older members, have called upon the child to note differences in the shape, color, size etc. of objects, persons and places? Those who had worked and recorded in the professional families could give many examples, but those who had observed either the rural or urban poor recalled only instances where the child was called upon to run an errand. Then it was - "I said the second shelf, you stupid little ox, I said the blue one, or yellow one"or whatever. These are the kinds of demands for action from the child that he can't respond to without any teaching of the concepts that are involved? And then I asked - how often do these older members call upon the child to formulate such matters in their own words? And nobody in either the urban or rural poor could think of an instance, but there were many instances in the others. Now, this is not in the literature.*

** *This implies that for the lower socio-economic kid, if he's going to profit from his environment, he's got to select out the stimuli himself?*

* *That's right. Now Foyerstein, in Israel, talks about the mediators of the environment. He's a student of Piaqet and Ray. He thinks Piaqet is overrated but Ray is great!!! And his point is that even in picking up when the kid drops something--the parent picks it up and gives it to him--that's mediating the environment in one specific kind of instance. That sort of thing is absent in most poverty homes--*

but not always. Abe Mankovich tells that he was poor, desperately poor, but his father was a rabbi and he wasn't culturally deprived. His father knowing that they were poor, told them stories, asked them questions and got them participating to the point that they forgot they were hungry. He tells some of these stories really very dramatically.

** Could I ask a question? Given this condition, to what extent is remediation possible, at what particular stages?

* The principle that I would go with, and this is my next point, would be that the abilities, motives and standards, and the competence of individuals, children of poverty, are modifiable at any age but are relatively more modifiable the earlier that the attempt is under-taken.

* But, post-language--would you agree?

* Yes--post-language.

* As a matter of fact, Foyerstein--(he's great. I'm very excited about what this guy has done, and with what Arthur Sullivan has been doing in Newfoundland)--both of them are taking people at an adolescent age and teaching them to think and teaching them to read and to talk. What's the test you have on all the parents? You know, the..... Raven's Matrices.

Foyerstein has been using both that and his iron test and I've seen him pull kids up a great distance--kids with IQ's in the 60's and 70's. He gets them to reason out the process. He will cover up the bottom where the answers are and have them see how aspects of the item differ--how this differs from that, and this differs from that, what's changing here, what's changing there, so that they come to deduce what the answer should look like. They work at the kids own conceptual level so you find the kid who doesn't know anything about the vertical and the horizontal but he knows the lying and the standing. I had to observe him doing this in Hebrew which was not the easiest thing for me to do, but in terms of Jensen's article, he gets plenty of real cognitive elaboration going in these people in a three or four hour stint.

* I might say on this that Foyerstein manages to get this after a really minimal amount of time.

* But it doesn't stay put.

* Well, some of it stays quite put. He took a group of youngsters in Harlem and these kids are now in their adolescence. At the time

they were very young adults, and they still write to him and he still writes to them. There is a charismatic factor with Foyerstein that is very hard to generalize from. At the same time, he has remarkable results in terms of generalization to the Stanford-Binet with changes running as high as twenty to twenty-five points after an interval of one year.

* By the way, in this country now, Abe Tannenbaum at Teachers College is working in the same area.

* He just came back from Israel.

* He just came back and he knows Foyerstein's stuff better than anyone else. You know, a man is never a prophet in his own country. I met Foyerstein first in Nashville at one of these Hayward's conferences. I was impressed with him there so I stopped to see him this spring and they were surprised at Hebrew University that I would go and stop to see Foyerstein because he doesn't count there. Last fall when we had him again, I waxed with a certain amount of enthusiasm and I think they're actually going to get together and see what it's about. Now I should add he's not the best of methodologists from a scientific standpoint.

* Some of his stuff will be published soon in an orthopsychiatric monograph and in fact Abe just brought back the manuscript and I've been going through it. It's about 140 pages and I hope to get it back to him within six to eight weeks.

* I think there are two points that have been raised. One, I think the Foyerstein example can be elaborated somewhat in terms of not so much the remediation of, you know, intellectual lack but in terms of the whole concept of the zone of proximal development, that is, the non-fixity of intelligence. And two, which is more controversial, I disagree both with Joe and probably Marty on the evidence for the notion that the earlier the intervention the better, and I also consider it a very dangerous truism to present to elementary school teachers. All right? You agree with the second, and I'll argue with you on the first--but in any case the second point is probably more important. However, I don't think we can say today that we have clear evidence that either cognitive development or other competencies are more remediable in the pre-school years for instance than in the elementary or high school years. I think that's a very questionable generalization at the moment and I also

think, as I said, maybe more important than its being questionable is the set it gives to the teacher that she.....

*	I'd grant the second but not the first.

*	That's okay but let's.....

*	If you put the thing on the basis that it's a tenable hypothesis but certainly has not been demonstrated adequately, and intervention later on, as Foyerstein's example points out, can be extremely effective.

**	Are you suggesting that there is such a thing as a - I'm sorry to use the popular jargon - a late bloomer?

*	Well I would go outside the human domain here. Wherever you have a set of circumstances with a given direction effect, the longer it persists the harder it is to change the direction of that effect. That's the general principle.

*	.....The more impact, and the more pressure it would take.....

*	It would take more.

*	.....And the environment would have to be increasingly modified.

**	Do you agree with that?

*	No, and I question the relevance of the animal literature for human cognitive development.

*	I think we're dealing here with basic physiological processes and the number of spines on the dendrites of cortical cells, and you're dealing here with the basic processes of the equipment for the organism to deal with. I gave at least a synopsis of this in my answer to-Jensen in that paper.....

*	But I think you're too biological. If Jensen is in one way, you are in another because I'd say that in.....Well, I don't want to get in to a lengthy argument.

**	There's no need--for my purposes it's useful to note the difference--thank you.

*	O.K., and then let's go on.

**	I presume that despite the fact that the argument would be fascinating for everybody that there's no point in attempting to resolve it.

*	Well, what I would agree with is that I think this is a dangerous principle from the standpoint of a teacher. Because he tends to say I can't do anything about it. Because it happens he can do something, and

the reason for my bringing Foyerstein in here was simply that Foyerstein argued with me on this and I want to grant that a great deal can be done at any time. So, I put it that abilities, motives and standard, the competence of children, can be modified at any age but it is probably easier to do it earlier than later.....

* *I think Joe, you'd also agree that when we start do discuss this, we have to rely on either theoretical positions or experimental literature --the longitudinal studies of actual child development are not conclusive one way or the other.*

* *I would agree with that.*

* *Right.*

* *I don't agree with Jensen, and perhaps with you, that the kind of thing that's physiological here is irrelevant. I think it's highly relevant and I don't see whether what's happening with a mouse in early days is unrelated--the human being is not basically different from a mouse biologically. Now in terms of the role of such things as language and the mediators in the thought process in a central system, there is real difference obviously, but at the physiological level at least.....*

* *There's where you hit certain very basic environmental differences where you deal with central systems.....*

* *I think the argument of people who disagree with us mostly is that the kind of cognitive sensory sort of deprivation that occurs even within the most culturally deprived is not so great as often would be demonstrated in experimental animal work. I mean there are so many instances of people who have been extremely culturally deprived, at some time later becoming culturally motivated (not really so much cognitive sensory trained). And these people demonstrate a terrific amount of cognitive competence. One implication of this point which I think might bring everything out, is that the change that is necessary in the teaching process later on as well as earlier, is primarily a cognitive one--that is, sensory training, cognitive training and so on.*

* *It's probably motivational too.*

* *Yes, attitudinal and motivational.*

* *For example the very fact that deprived kids were used to a noisy environment--they heard noise constantly. This means that it's harder to attract their attention. They have to go through something*

like a Skinnerian, a reinforcement of listening before you can move to the business of making a difference.....

* .....and to participation where they actually supply both the stimulus and the response for themselves. The positions are not that polarized. There are certain bridges.

* We have to resist the danger of having fun, theoretically, discussing things for our own sake I suppose.....

* Yes, but there's one very practical difficulty though from the point of view of the teacher and that is that they tend to oversimplify often and take these theoretical points of view in almost a reified fashion and feel that the only way of producing any kind of behavioural or academic change in the kid is through some kind of cognitive sensory training thing. So in fact what they're really doing is probably making a kid more bored, unmotivated, and making irrelevant the content he is trying to learn. So that I think that what a teacher should know, is that there are ways of changing a child's cognitive competence perhaps without directly trying to sort of engage in training of a cognitive and sensory sort.

* Teachers tend, if they're exposed to it at all, to look at the overall statistics of retardation in the urban slums, particularly retardation in terms of reading, and they tend to be very much impressed with that. And what you want to do is create appreciation of the kind of multivariant alternatives that do exist in reality--an appreciation that the exceptions demonstrate the potential that's really inherent. At the same time, she should appreciate the difficulty of any kind of intervention. And there I would agree that there's increasing difficulty. But I think at the same time it's increasingly challenging and that there is a motivational factor that is independent of the cognitive competence characteristic at a later stage of development.

** Question - If I'm a teacher and if I have to do my job, given the information that's available to you and given the theoretical structure that underlies it, at this particular point in time, what would you suggest might be some of the alternative strategies I might use?

* With what age children?

** If in fact it's going to be different at different ages let's *identify the differences.*

* *It's going to be very different.*

* *Do you want to identify these issues and come back or go ahead? I think you're going to disagree with me even more on the next. There's a thing here that I think bears on what you've been saying. I think from a teacher's point of view the main thing is that a lot of remediation difficulties that occur at later age are motivational--that is, that the kid has dropped out of the system, or copped out of the system because he sees no reason to stay in.*

* *.....and he stays in that cop-out frame of mind.*

* *Yes, and that needs to be differentiated from his having gotten cognitively frozen.*

* *Like a taxi driver told me last night, that he was one of those smart guys who didn't need to go to school and now at 65 he wasn't so smart anymore and he's driving a taxi. And he said, "if I'd gone to school....." and then he came on with a whole series of things--that he would live his life all over again, and so on. But what he was pointing out was that he had got into a channel within the society, and this is where I think the sociologists need to come in and show ways of breaking out.*

* *They have to care--but I think Grayson Kirk and a lot of others might envy him.*

* *At the same time as agreeing with what you were saying, we have to realize that one of the best ways to motivate kids, people, in general, is through success. If a kid is simply stymied through any kind of cognitive achievement it's going to operate very detrimentally in motivation too. So, we're raising a false dichotomy of course. But I think the trouble with teachers arises through the theoretical evidence about cognitive stages and other developmental ideas. They tend, to see later developments being too much contingent on earlier ones.*

* *It's not easy to make those changes at adolescence.*

* *Yes but it can be a cultural thing. Foyerstein can't do it with everybody. As a matter of fact, he tells me that he has a hell of a time with the Yemenite Jews, whereas he can do wonderfully with the Morocans.*

* Sure, but he gets changes with the Yemenite that we would consider fantastic--between fifteen and twenty points. But they're only half what he gets with the Morocans.

* What is your comment on the Skinnerian sort of approach, let's say to learning concepts in reading, particularly in view of the work done in Hawaii on teaching adolescents reading. They're starting out with inforcers, he says, namely money. You know, that kind of approach with reading and understanding paragraphs. They start off very simply by reinforcing with money, continue to build up to more complicated ideas.

* Well, what I think money does, is do what Marty calls close the loop. You see, usually lots of these kids aren't getting anything--they are behaving and getting nothing back. This is what I think happens in the orphanage situation where apathy and retardation goes on indefinitely. Even at adolescent age it has been demonstrated with intensive cases that money is a useful reinforcer. If you can find reinforcers, it will bring about an improvement.

* Yes, but money wouldn't help four year olds.

* No, but you can do it.

** Question please. I asked Skinner about delayed gratification and he didn't altogether satisfy me. If in fact you accustom kids to immediate gratification, immediate reinforcement, where does delayed gratification fit into the deal? Do you assume that they somehow absorb the idea of delayed gratification?

* Well, I think you have to program that. I don't want to reject Skinner out but I think actually Foyerstein does it. In the process of teaching here, I find myself facing great big question marks. I think that there's a tremendous amount of ingenuity allowable to teachers if they once get faith that something can happen. If you once free them with the belief that if they're a genius, something can happen, a great deal can happen. But it may be to a very small proportion of the kids unless you do something to change the general scene. This is where I think we have to go into things that will really modify the sociology of this operation.

* Could I make a comment about this delay of gratification notion? Middle-class teachers I think tend to feel it is very important because

presumably we middle-class have this and that; this is very important for achievement in school and so on. I've looked pretty closely at that literature quite extensively and I think that's really a myth.

** *It is?*

* *You mean you'd mediate the reinforcers per grade?*

* *No. I mean the myth in that there is social class difference in preference for delay of gratification. Any experimental research has not shown any difference between middle-class and lower class. Nor has it been shown that this so-called concept mediates cognitive achievement, going to college and academic performance, and so on. As a matter of fact, that original idea came from the sociologist, whose name escapes me. It was inferred from behavioural data such as promiscuous sexual behaviour, lack of savings in the bank, not going on to college, and so on, which they said indicated the syndrome of personality characteristic of being unable to delay gratification. There must be a more parsimonious explanation for that behaviour rather than a personality one.*

* *It's been fed back into the learning literature from the socio-behavioural material that David Riesman reported on, and that Frank Richmond picked up in his book.....*

* *It's related to the symbol system, that is, you can use praise in the middle-class child at a much earlier age than you can use praise for the lower-class child.*

* *You know, that's so but I'm not certain that it's completely so. If you were to set up a schedule of praise to change a lower-class child very rapidly in the first few months of orientation with concrete versus social and other kinds of rewards.....*

* *Well, it depends on where you get your measures---if you're just measuring your first reactions to praise, or you're measuring later reactions to praise. Because lower-class kids will go very rapidly through this socialization process of accepting praise. The only thing is that they'll be a little more skeptical and cynical that it has real depth and meaning.*

* *Yes, but the point I'm trying to make is not what will work with the kids but that if you look at the experimental literature on concrete versus other types of rewards, it is not consistent and I don't think we*

know where we stand.

* Right, and I think we can get rid of myths of this sort which the middle-class teacher has.

* There's another issue--the assumption that middle-class is this way, it must be good because.....

* On the delayed gratification thing, I take a somewhat different tack. I think there are social class differences. I'm sure there are in the data we had from Chicago. But I would say that there's probably some difference which could be called some kind of predisposition or some tendency of individuals but my guess is that the biggest difference comes as a matter of the kid's estimate of the probability that he's going to get rewarded. That is, you can very easily manipulate the tendency to delay rewards by increasing or decreasing the probability that it's going to be there when he finishes.

* Right, right.

* So it's a matter of confidence in the rewarder. And the lower-class kids, simply don't have that kind of faith in environment. But if you had the reward system in which you get immediate gratification, (or call it immediate reward), setting up a contingency between what the child does and what happens in the environment or vice versa, then I think you will get delayed gratification simply because he knows that there are obvious contingencies and they can be managed. But it is not random. It is when the contingencies are random and when the reward system is not predictable that you get immediate gratification, because if you don't grab it now, by God it's not going to be there tomorrow.

* You are really speaking about the reliability of the prediction of reward.

* That is precisely what I was meaning a while ago when I said I think you have to program it. You have to build faith-in-the-delay.

* Okay. Now in other words, our kids are reacting to what appears to be a disorganized educational system which they don't understand.

* Yes, and Michelles study of kids from father-absent families where delay of gratification was measured by the simple test of 'do you want a candy bar, a small one now or a big one later'. The idea was that the father-absent kids came from a very shifting environmental situation with people coming and going and saying all

kinds of things that they didn't follow through on, whereas this was less true in the others. Therefore the father-absent children were going to take their candy bar now when it was there in front of them rather than rely on the experimenter to come back in two weeks from now.

* *I think this can be tied in with the educational system, not only for the kids but for the teachers. I regard the educational system as it exists in most lower-class and most disadvantaged areas as being one in which the incentive system within the educational context is very, very poor.*

* *Phil Jackson has some of the best damned stuff on this kind of thing. You know, the kid is waiting and his arm is heavy and he's waiting and waiting and he has to put a prop under his arm and he only wants to respond but he can only respond once every fifteen or twenty times and he has to wait to get a turn. The teacher in turn gets only her salary. How well she does, whether she moves kids along and makes a difference in them doesn't make a damned bit of difference. Furthermore she has a whole lot of problems in coping with the disciplinary side of the thing, and that's what she gets paid for - keeping these kids disciplined.*

* *Well, this is it. Keeping the children disciplined and keeping them as much as possible in a passive type of situation. This is the fact of the situation while we place great emphasis on ripping up those damned desks and taking out the squat box and having youngsters who are self-programming, where they get their own kind of rewards. They can go to the teacher or the paraprofessional. They can ask questions and go back to their own particular operation but they're not dependent on the central teacher.*

** *Okay, question. It seems to me that much of teacher behavior, and I've done video tape studies of classrooms, is directed at self-rewarding. Now, one of the devices used, of course, is to ask the kids who they think knows the answer so that they get back evidence of the fact that they have been teaching well.*

* *That's not very good.*

* *It's for this reason the Sullivan Readers, for example, have been so successful. Because they have the rewards built right into them and they gradually extend delay but the children then have a classification*

mark where they can work out the correctness-incorrectness of the response and then come over to the more complex book.

** Okay. Well, as I see it, one of our problems is to develop in teachers the idea that they can be rewarded for different things than they are currently getting rewarded for.

* Now you're talking now about teachers getting rewards and not about the kids.

** Yes.

* I want to speak at some point to the moral education of teachers, but that.....seriously, I think we have some empirical things to say, but.....

* Which gets us back to a basic point - Should we allow the discussion to emerge out of a particular point that's made or should we get through the list first?

* Let's get through the list.

* The third point was that the abilities, motives and standards are modifiable at any age but the earlier it is the easier it is. But, and this is the fourth point, the school constitutes only part of the child's environment, at most, about a third of his waking hours. And there's only one model of teacher versus parent models, neighborhood models, etc. And I don't think you need more than just to look at the thing to justify that statement.

Then the fifth point is that it may therefore be necessary for the school to obtain the cooperation of the parents of the disadvantaged if large and permanent changes are to be made. And I should add when you come to the adolescent, this applies in particular to the opportunities for him within the culture.....and it isn't just black and white. What a kid gets in a town, how he's taken, whether he gets a job, depends on whose kid he is, what status he comes from. The opportunities for getting some kind of success are definitely lower if he comes from a lower-class background than from a higher-class background. Getting their parents involved in this thing is very important in the improvemement in confidence for the kids.

* In terms of confidence, if I could just interrupt for a moment, there's a level where there's a certain discrepancy. If you go into the high schools, (and I've spent a great deal of time in the last two or

three years in the high schools) and look at the underground press you will often find the youngsters that are failing on the achievement tests and everything else, editing, writing away; highly motivated, getting their reinforcement from the material they turn out. They would not get cooperation from either faculty or the parents, but they are turning out something and they'll probably be journalists in the future.

* It would be great if we had examples of the kind you're talking about. We need to get it more systematically reported, that the kids who are doing their thing in the press and the kids who are flunking it in arithmetic but they're making out in other ways.

* I've heard that and I wish we could document it a little better so that it got above the level of myth.

* At the high school and college level we have some documentation from Mike Wallace who had an experimental program at Duke where they let in kids who do very poorly by IQ achievement standards but who are "gifted in extra-curricular and non-academic" kinds of activity.

* Well, let me say that Foyerstein finds that when you get the people operative in the army--and it's been the way in which Israel has overcome illiteracy, they've got almost a hundred percent literacy now out of all the people who have gone into the army--but then it takes longer to push some people. He's perfectly willing to grant that there are kids with individual biological differences in potential and that you have to invest more. Of the two people I saw go through his test, it took him a lot longer with this girl who was older, than it did with the twelve year old boy. Both he and I had the feeling, watching this boy of IQ about 70, that he was potential Ph.D. Caliber. But he was reading at about the second grade level. At this stage in the game he just couldn't handle it. He'd gone through the sixth grade and he was still reading at the second grade level. Well, Foyerstein pulled him out, and he could move so fast and so easily that you had the feeling, in terms of his learning potential, that this kid really had it. He needed to be put into a school where he has other models - into a living school situation. If he was left there with his family, in that same setting, he's caught there within that group and he's discouraged from going ahead. So he has to be moved out, at least at the early level. My next point is that the preponderate majority of parents of

disadvantaged children, and here again I'm talking from the point of view of the early education, love their children, and we do better for them if they know love.

** Would you elaborate on what you mean by getting cooperation of their parents?

* Yes, this goes right on. A substantial majority of these parents can be interested in being taught how to be better teachers of their young, at least when these children are young.

** Now for my teachers this implies two things I think. First of all, the teachers need to have some skills in approaching and dealing with parents, and secondly, they need to have some sort of knowledge of "parents as learners," right?

* That's right.

* Now, the earlier you get to this the better because over and over it has been shown by the time the kid has got into the parents's hair, they're disappointed in him, and so they think, well - he didn't make it, but the new baby, he's going to make it.

* They've got fifteen years of habituated attitudes.

* Well, I would say three years of habituated attitudes and they've given up.

* We're finding the first ones do better.

* Let me give you a counter example. We were doing a Montessori program in Chicago in which we had these three and four year old kids in the Montessori pre-school program and the parents were trying to be actively involved in it. Now this is just with a very small sample but we found that the older siblings of these kids jumped in achievement in that same two year period in the elementary school.

* So did Tonks and Gray.

* We found this same thing, the older siblings and also the younger siblings.

* This is the vertical diffusion business of Tonks and Gray.

* But that doesn't replicate. To me that doesn't replicate. Do you know of anybody who has tried it?

* Well it does replicate.....down at Duke and it does replicate at Karnes. There are probably some methodological differences though. Now another thing that shows up in this kind of thing, is that wherever

you get a group of these parents together and you keep them together for a couple of years and have them meet, at the meetings the parents take a new lease on life.

*　We got the same results in this Montessori school. These black mothers went out and organized the hell out of the block.

*　All right. This stuff seems to be highly reproducible.

*　These parents have been coming there for seven or eight years and they become full participants and they bring materials into the home, but when we look at it statistically, the children that have made significant median advances, it goes in the direction of the children that have had parents that have had no participation.

*　Say that again. I'm not sure I.....

*　A number of youngsters have had parents that have come down and contributed to the parents' center and mostly they've been, become activists and have played a definite role particularly in the community. Now when you compare their youngsters who have made significant changes, to the youngsters of the parents that do not participate in the parental program, there is no significant difference between the two populations. Though there's a tendency and a consistent tendency year after year for the children of the parents that have participated to show greater changes.

*　Whose program is this?

*　A longitudinal program that we've been.....

*　Your program?

*　Yes.

*　You haven't reported that as yet?

*　Yes, it's out. It hasn't been published but it's out as a report to the Ford Foundation.

*　Let me suggest something though. The point I'm going to make is this. Among these active parents who got active through the program, we did not find the effect on the kids who went through the pre-school program. We found the effect on the older siblings. In other words, if you looked at the kids in the pre-school program, their gains were not proportional to the parents' activism but the side-effect gains were proportional.

*　There's another co-variance here. There's another fact that comes in. We've looked at it now, the kids from three and a half through

the end of the third grade, that in which has maintained continuity, we do find that parents are less likely to participate if they have over and above a certain number of children. And it may very well be that if you get a certain crowding factor, a certain noisy factor, you get a certain drowning condition where a lot of the socializing has been turned over to the older child so it might not be a by-product of participation in the parental program but rather the number of children in the home.

* *Well, there's another kind of thing. The very fact that they see the kid developing is terribly rewarding, terribly rewarding. (This comes out of Badger's observations.) They can see that this youngster that they're working on is just doing better than anybody ever saw.*

Now that leads me to my seventh point--that a substantial majority of these parents can be interested in being taught how to be better teachers of their young--at least when their children are of the pre-school age. The only demonstrations are in this domain. But I suspect this will hold at later stages. If they start they'll keep this kind of thing up. They become activists. They upgrade their skills. In Nashville sixty percent of the group passed their high school equivalency exams and became practical nurses and beauticians and that sort of thing. They really changed their pattern of how they took care of their apartments and so on. They not only do that but they take a new lease on life, hope their child can do something and they can do something for him. There's an element of hope that grows out of that. Jim put this stuff together. He was ashamed of these kind of data and I had to jump up and down and say this is more important than some of your damned scores. These are data thay maybe we psychologists haven't been used to, but these are data that are real--get them down, get them into the picture.

** *What happened to the old idea that if a child shows too much evidence of success, he starts to become a threat to his parents simply because he's demonstrating their inadequacy?*

* *If that happens when the parent is not involved and it happens at adolescence.....I haven't seen any data on this though I've seen it over and over again in Nebraska when I was growing up. These kids went to college, and then came back with ideas that were real threats*

to their parents. Incidentally, on all this, I should modify what I said before, you do have a significant difference between the youngsters that have been through the longitudinal program with cooperation of parents than those that have not had cooperation of parents and been through the program.

* *I want to make a correlary generalization from having talked to enough teachers about this business of parental involvement in the educational process. There is no research evidence to show that parents using different methods and attitudes in teaching has any* ***interference*** *effect on learning. This is the biggest bunch of baloney you get from teachers and from school systems.*

* *Don't teach your child to read because it will effect how he learns at school badly.*

* *Or, don't let the parent get involved in the educational process because he'll do it in a different way from the teacher and that will create an interference effect. This is the way they talk about it or rationalize it.*

* *Keep learning encapsulated in the school away from the parents.....*

* *But there is no research evidence for that generalization.....*

* *This used to be the Bank St. ideology and may still be.*

* *Oh yes.*

* *Let me make another observation that may be correlary to both of these. That is, that teachers also are much more eager to learn how to teach than many people give them credit for.*

* *I hope you're right.*

* *Up to a point. I think that depends on the ambiance of the social structure, the principal, the school board and so on.*

* *Teachers and parents are delighted if they can be taught techniques to work with kids who are presenting some of the problems in the classroom. Indeed I think this accounts for some of the popularity of the structured programs.*

* *They have something they can do.*

* *The regular system is so loose and so ephemeral. If they have a program which they clearly can see has some results, then they get enthusiastic.*

* *I think this is also why you see the popularity of what is, in*

fact, a basically simpleminded idea, the Flanders scheme of interaction analysis. I think the teachers are just saying - we don't know what the hell we're doing, and this gives us a little bit of a hold on this complicated social system which we're operating.

* *Well, you can teach parents to be teachers. Gains in IQ over twelve weeks have been shown to be essentially the same for children who never have been into a nursery school but who have been taught by their parents and those who had gone to nursery school.*

** *Let me ask one thing please. We did make a point about the white middle-class myth that if, in fact, the kid gets too bright he does in fact challenge his parents but I wonder if there are ethnic differences here. For instance, given the authoritarianism of the Mexican family, for example, what happens to a Mexican kid exposed to school situations which ask him to question and argue and debate when this runs up ethnic barriers.*

* *I don't think the question is whether kids can threaten their parents. Obviously they can. The question is, on what kinds of points do they threaten their parents? I think in some of the situations that you're talking about, it's not that the kids are so bright, it's that they bring in ideas that are in opposition to parents' values.*

* *That's exactly right.*

* *For example, this happens, in the Chinese families in San Francisco. The Stanford undergraduate can pose a tremendous threat to their parents by appearing to be moving away from their very strong family values.*

* *We don't even have to go outside our own group.*

* *But when kids from a lower-class black family come back from school knowing something that they learned at school, this threatens the parents --I don't think that's true.*

* *Another point, about this question of level of educational aspiration. We do know that in stable working class cultures with a kind of long order orientation that on the whole, fathers have worked out a pattern in which they rationalize not going to college and so on and so forth. They often have lots of conflict about their sons going to college when they didn't. But I think your evidence, about level of educational aspiration for the kids among ghetto parents does not show*

vast differences. There's no:....am I right? I.....

* Well, the parents had very high levels of aspiration for the kids.

* Could it be that they weren't geared to any method of bringing them up?

* No, the problem was that although they'd like their child to be a doctor or a lawyer, when you ask the parent-what are the steps, would he have to go to school, and so on, you get very vague responses which mean that they really don't know what the system is like.

* Nor do they know the consequences of the child going through the system. They may say that they might like the ideal but the actuality may be so much different.

* Look, I have a sister-in-law who is a teacher. She has a Master's Degree in classics. And she kept holding her kids back so that they started in school in the first grade at seven and eight with the idea of developmental maturing. Only recently has she come back to the idea that maybe she could have done something to have speeded up the process of their development early instead of holding them back. Now there was one gain in this. They were late developers, physically, so this gave them a chance to be great athletes, when they wouldn't have been great athletes without this, but..... Now she is seeing that she could have done something to pull these kids along, but, you see, she just waited them out.

* But there's an ideology of passivity in this that goes through the educational market place. Essentially you do not put too much pressure or tension on the child because any kind of challenge is considered to be a paralyzing tension.

** Are you suggesting that there are certain criticisms that could be leveled at this?

* Well I certainly am. All the time you're putting cultural demands on the child. This is what I mean by the business of asking questions that call upon the child to formulate these things in his own words. And you can grow this so that it becomes a challenge all the way through, intellectually, motivationally, and so forth. There are limits to this of course, and damage can really be done. I don't want to fight Zigler continuously on this. His point is that real damage can be done. And I think it can if you call on the child to do

something he cannot do and you make affection and approbation conditional upon his doing it... You put him in a box where he can't get out.....

* *But I think we need to differentiate at some point between the stimulation of cognitive development and the pressure to perform tasks which your child is not able to perform.*

* *It is a very different thing.....*

* *Yes, and I think this whole notion of cognitive stimulation has to be gotten across to teachers.*

* *Let me get my last two or three out of here and then we can.....*

* *On this point I should also say there's firm evidence to refute a few more stereotypes like: that cognitive development and social, emotional development are unrelated, or that stimulation of cognitive development caused emotional conflict. All those are untrue and we have disproved them. There's hard research evidence to refute the anecdotal psychoanalytic type of myth often invoked by lay theorists.*

* *But they are constantly being regurgitated.*

* *I'm glad that point's been made.*

* *My next point was that parents can readily be taught to be effective teachers at least at the early pre-school stage, by learning to ask these critical type questions. This means that the school literally becomes an agent within the community involved in the teaching of parents. I should like to suggest that this is one of the major functions of the school.*

** *Can I ask a question that I hope won't be incidental. I would imagine that in the early years the kinds of questions that a parent might ask children would be factually oriented questions. You know, "what is this?" And I would imagine that it becomes increasingly difficult to ask conceptually oriented questions, if in fact the parent doesn't have a resevoir of conceptual organizations that allow him to do this. So the 'why' questions and the 'so what' questions and the 'if' questions become increasingly difficult.*

* *That's right. Most teachers can't answer those questions.*

* *College professors aren't doing so well at it either.*

* *I'd like to make a sociological comment on what you just said. The desire to involve parents and the desire to have the school as the agent that would involve teaching parents to work with their kids has,*

I think, some serious problems implicit in it. One of these is that teachers are now--especially teachers in the ghetto, disadvantaged schools--are now so overwhelmed withvthe magnitude of the task they have in the classroom, that to involve them in parent education as well is just too much.

* I don't think they should do it, I think there ought to be another teacher who works with these parents.

* .....I'm just trying to make my point. That is, I agree with you as you know, that the cooperation and support of the home is exceedingly important. There ought to be greater liaison between the teacher and the parents. I'd just like to point out that one of the consequences of this is that you have two institutions, a school and a family, which in effect then become competitive, or at least may become competitive in terms of the attention toward the child and from the child. One shouldn't overlook kind of a natural hostility that grows up between the teacher and the family based on a good many organizational factors.

* I don't know that we're seeing that in these pre-school situations that we're developing - I don't see this.

* In the experimental programs I think you're quite right but the experimental programs, I suggest, are probably special cases. In the long run institutions, (and I'm overstating the case obviously to make the point), where you have the teacher playing the role of expert in the classroom and the family--playing the role of socializer in moral and other kinds of areas in the home--she becomes the government expert in child rearing and child care. The parent-child centers are a good example of this. As the government agent in charge of early development she and the mother than have a relationship which puts the teacher in the position of being expert in having things to do with the child.....

* You're making a very questionable generalization here. I would say there is absolutely no evidence that competition of authority between the parent and teacher has an unhealthy effect on the child's educational development.

* Well, actually that's the question.....

* No, no. I didn't say it had an unhealthy effect. I said.....

* *His argument is that bringing the school in as the institution to do the teaching of the parents may lead to complications of an institutional sort.*

* *One should be aware of what we're doing here--that is, changing the relationship between two major socializing institutions in the society. I'm not sure whether it's going to be helpful or not.....*

* *What you said then is a hypothesis here, not backed with any antecedent empirical information.*

* *Well, there is something--it may be somewhat different from the kind of formal teaching you're suggesting, I think, but which involves the parents. This is the case in Russia which Bronfenbrenner has taught us a lot about. The involvement of the parent there was not so much in the formal teaching as in after school time. Adults in the neighbourhood did things with the children. They took them places, and did the kinds of things that are not usually part of the formal teaching and training that the school would do. Now one of the interesting benefits of this sort of thing I suspect is that it tends to break down a bit the hostility that exists in our culture between the peer group culture and the peer group norms and the adult norms. Now the kind of thing that we were talking about earlier (about the underground newspaper and the non-achieving kid doing well) to the extent that this exists(and though there may be no data I suspect it does exist) to a large extent this occurs because of the reinforcing properties that exist when a child is doing things that are rebellious against the adult norms. Bronfenbrenner points out, in a couple of his studies that in Russia the peer group supports the adults' culture and the socializing and the character development and so on. But in his American data he shows in fact that with peer group knowledge, kids are more likely to engage in misbehavior and that these two sets of norm,adults and the pupil norms are often antithetical. Given this kind of hostility, perhaps the teacher should be aware that in fact she represents the adult norm, a symbol of these things. In fact, much of the hostility that kids may have for school is because of this that exists between them and adults.*

* *Bronfenbrenner doesn't point out that in the Russian situation uniformity does not allow either creativity or exceptional responses*

and in a sense there is a tremendous amount of homogeneity between the demand of the parent, the adult culture, and the school culture, something which is at least not explicitly existent here.

* In the disadvantaged situation we don't have the kind of support and congruence in a number of areas between the community and the school. That is, the teacher is trying to get the kids to be unlike their parents in some very basic ways and it's around this that I think some of the complications arise.

* I think that's right.

* These complications may be important--competition may be an important factor.

* I think they're important but I don't think they're necessarily benign or necessarily malignant.

* Well, another aspect of this is that often in lower-class backgrounds, there are not adequate role models for what can be accomplished --for career goals. There are not occupational role models in life-- so that perhaps involving the parents, not in an indiscriminate kind of way, but involving adults in extra-curricular outside the formal task of the school can provide them.

* Yes. This control provides the kind of adult interaction that would prevent the antagonism that seems to exist in our culture between the peer and adult society and, moreover, provide the kind of occupational role model (particularly important I suspect in the black culture in which you come in contact most often with adults in low status occupations.) Kids are not aware that you can become, you know, something other than low status adults and so they just sit around.

* Of course, there's a lot of antipathy but I think some of it might be healthy.

* The people who have reflected on the impact on the home and on the mother as a result on this kind of contact with the school suggest caution because there are some major implications when we start changing institutional arrangements within the society.

* Excuse me. Could I follow on this just for a minute. I think that if that exists, it's somewhat because the way that we as psychological experts and participants in the Head Start Program and teachers and so on, have presented this to the parent. It's almost implicitly saying to

the parent, you are bad parents, you know, so that we've been entrusted with doing the job properly.

* Well, the teachers have an identity problem don't they? And by definition they don't necessarily identify with the parents. After all the parents are also tuned to different cultural norms so you've got in-group, out-group problems immediately. It seems to me that this is one source of threat--to what extent can a teacher accomodate to a different out-group in such a way that she doesn't violate her own dignity? Does that make sense?

* Well, this is part of the whole issue of community control.

* Let me make the next point here, that probably, if parents of the lower-class get started to function as teachers and associated with this educational process while their children are still of pre-school age they are very likely to continue to hold positive values of the learning process and to build in a set of attitudes of cooperation of the sort that I think will obviate some of the problems. Now part of this though is a matter of how it's done.

* Only if there is maintenance from the pre-school through the more formal school situation. And so far there has been an absence of that maintenance stimulation. So there results a great deal of cynicism on the parts of the teachers and parents and a great deal of apathy on the part of the child.

* Well this is why Merle Karnes, and Sue Gray, have come to the notion that really we should have continuity and that it should be the school that takes charge of the business of pre-school education. And that the continuity should be there and that there should be an institutional connection here.

* I'm extremely adamant about this. You will not be successful with Head Start of any other kind of programs unless there's the continuity built into it--you must build the continuity.

* Yes, we both had that argument. I don't think going in like experts and trying to tell people how to work is the way to do this. You do it with a collaborative cooperation and the teacher has got to be taught to be a collaborator in this....

* Some sort of group dynamics instruction or understanding?

* Probably very useful.

** *Any comment about sensitivity training?*

* *Sensitivity training with teachers?*

** *Yes.*

* *I've got one point on that. My last point is concern. It is probably useless to try to get the cooperation of parents in the educational process when their level of poverty is so severe and they are so persistently hungry, ans so lacking in minimal shelter comforts, or that they're basically anti-social.*

* *The same goes for the kids.*

* *I think there are some times when the society may have to consider the possibility of educational programs that are divorced from certain kinds of parents. That is, in the cases where conditions are so severe we've got to do something about the poverty. Florence and Steadman took a sample of nine kids born during a given year from the ghetto of Durham. They had a sample fifteen kids from this particular ghetto, average IQ between seventy and seventy-eight. They wanted to follow this particular group of nine with the new Bailey scales. So they had the social worker bring those nine mothers in with their infants each month. They went through the Bailey Scales with the social worker with the mother watching the tester and explaining what the test was about. At two and a half--by the way, the second year it was every other month--at two and a half these kids had an average IQ of 110, rather than 70. On the social IQ, they were still low in language but the Vineland mean was 138. They're doing this as an open genuine experiment. What I thought the explanation was that these mothers saw their kids coming in there,getting the tests, they had the test explained, they went home and practiced them on these things and they worked with these little kids. (They were, by the way, all first babies.) So this thing was really a very effective parent training device. That's my suspicion.*

* *Did he have a control group?*

* *No, this was a trial of the Bailey Scale. It wasn't research at all. It was just one of those happenstances, but my point is you don't throw a happenstance away. Byt anyway, I talked about this to Florence Harper, and she just snorted. She says, when the rain comes in the roof and you don't have food half the days, you aren't much interested*

in bringing your baby in. You couldn't even get them to bring them in until you do something about the roof and the food situation. And that's another thing that society may have to pay attention to. Then also there's the business of the anti-social group and I don't know how big this is but basically it's a different case again.

* Let me make a comment on your notion that perhaps we should let educational institutions take over the child recring of some of the members of the society. There are a couple of things. We've been doing this with American Indian kids for a long time with disastrous results.

* Magnificent failure.

* Ghastly. And there are those--I'm not sure there are any of them in this room--but there are those who say that the school in grades one through twelve, hasn't really demonstrated such a magnificent ability to deal with kids that we should extend the time it has control down to age two.

* I can see all that but I think you're going to have to do something on the teaching of teachers, part of this is part of your involvement.

** I think you have there, the dichotomy between what should be done and what could be done, given the limitations of the system. And they might be two quite divergent recommendations.

* One is the matter of finding out--between trying to recommend some kind on institutional change when we don't have the capability to do what ought to be done, that is, what can be done. We're talking about what can be done and I'm bringing in again the sociological norm which to extend this as a principle, is to do what we have done. And once the institutionalized format gets built into legislation and practice and so on before the trainees and resources are mobilized, then you have an institution that is very difficult to change and if it turns out to be a poor one......

* In May of 1967 I was arguing that Head Start would fail because we were deploying on a broad scale a system of early education that simply was not fitted for the compensatory function it was called upon to achieve. My plea was that our society should just let us have time to try and fail, and try again, to do the necessary basic research, to do the development of a system that would operate. There are probably

several that would work but we had to experiment first. Then deploy we would, - only after there's some demonstration of effectiveness.

* *That was my response to the Westinghouse report. That is, they expected too much, much too soon. What we needed was not a 'go' - 'no go' type of evaluation but a kind of formative evaluation such as a feedback mechanism.*

* *We're in the process of evaluating.....*

* *Maybe we're in it but the Administration is so antagonistic. They're cutting down on research all the way through the society. I think these political notes are worth making because psychologists are getting involved in policy and policy making and we should be getting involved.*

* *Sure we should.*

** *My heart is with you. Can I ask a question, however, that arises out of something you said about two minutes ago. One of the points that the sociologists made was, (and others too for that matter), that the school is becoming a repository for all sorts of tasks that at one stage or another had been undertaken by different organizations. So if in fact we've got problems, throw them to the school. Now, one of the points they made was that they felt that they would like to see the function of the school defined somewhat more narrowly and somewhat more specifically so that the teacher didn't feel that everything in the development of the child was in fact her responsibility.*

* *Yes, but we don't have to accept that mandate from the sociologists.....*

* *Oh no.*

* *I've got arguments why that's wrong.....*

** *That's exactly why I asked the question. Okay - shoot.*

* *I can argue because my major interest these days is in value education and so on. You know the usual truisms: that value education is a product of the home, the character is formed in the home, or the church if not the home, or something like that--and a whole set of stereotypes associated with this. First, that's incorrect for various reasons. It is demonstrated that the school does and can have important effects on value development. It's been demonstrated that character is not formed by the home in any exclusive or unique way.*

It's been demonstrated that church and religion have little or no effect on moral values and character development. Empirical research shows those kinds of things. Now, on the negative side, the reasons against a narrow definition of the school's function..... Let me start with my current negative axe which is that elementary school acheivements or high school achievement now defined by grades and by performance on achievement tests cannot be viewed as an important or major criterion of effectiveness in teaching in schools or anything else. At the moment, longitudinal evidence indicates that achievement test scores, in elementary and high school, and grades do not predict anything valuable in later life once you control for the gating effect of entrance into college and the IQ factor.

*   Oh, that's very interesting.

*   But it predicts to success in the next stage.

*   Yes. Then it drops out after that. For instance, if you look at grades in high school ar achievement test scores you will find that, of course on the whole, what college you go to and whether you go to college or not, is correlated with grades. But if you control for that and look at kids who quit high school at the end of high school there are no either vocational or other measures of better adjustment of those kids. Also, if you look at kids with different grades who go to the same college, or the same class of colleges, their high school grades predict to nothing. They predict their college grades, but to nothing later in life.

*   .....They predict the first year's college grades but not the fourth year's college grades.

*   And then college grades themselves seem to predict to nothing generally in the way of later vocational achievements. Anyhow, if you go back, the only point I'm trying to make is that if we have a static definition that the function of the school is to teach the conventional curricular a la; the Conant, Rickover contingent, there's absolutely no evidence that this definition of the functions of the school, (even if it were done better, you know, even if we could devise more effective ways of dealing with the disadvantaged, if we could raise all their achievement test scores,) would do any good.

*   That, by the way, is a figment of our cockeyed measuring school systems.

** Okay, but would you therefore not want to prescribe in any shape or form the domain on which the school should concentrate, or would you want to prescribe to some degree?

* I would argue that the reason achievement tests do so poorly in cognitive areas or skill areas (which are the current focus of achievement tests) is because the way we've made up achievement tests has been poor and the way that school has defined the cognitive curriculum has also been poor. I'm not saying that the cognitive curriculum isn't basic to the school, but teachers have to know that the kind of uncritical notion they have about achievement test performance for individual kids and groups of kids are so unsupportable by what we really know about achievement tests.

Let's take the achievement test as indicating that a purely subject mastery notion of education seems to be an inadequate notion in the sense that subject mastery does not predict a useful later outcome in development. Therefore we ought to be thinking about some other goals for the school. Now, in terms of value education, the issue is not whether the school does engage in value education or not. In one sense or another, good or bad, about three quarters of teachers' efforts are involved in value education of a poor sort usually called maintenance of classroom discipline and order.

* .....And usually non-cognitive.

* Yes, completely non-cognitive. And even on a cognitive level, the discussion of supposedly purely cognitive or knowledge type things in social studies for example, is inevitably heavily value loaded and so on. So the notion that the school should not attempt to work out an intellectually and constitutionally feasible concern for value development goes counter to reality.

* Would you like to see teachers expose the nature of the valuing game so that they can consider valuing processes rationally -- whether the valuing process is occurring in the classroom at a given point in time when a teacher says, 'do this,' or whether they are occurring in society, or whether they're occurring in school?

* What I'm trying to say is that their problem centers around inter-personal relationships, and in the classroom, around classroom management and so on, about which the teacher is highly and terribly

concerned. Now these are divorced from, in teachers' thinking and in the school system, from the notion of educational objectives of the school with respect to cognitive outcomes.

* *Except for the 'good citizen' courses.*

* *Yes. Well, that's what I call the 'virtue bag' approach but, for instance, in our own work we've demonstrated that you can, by running classroom discussions on value and moral issues, with relatively brief kinds of exposure, and with all kinds of kids, to raise kids' stage in their level of moral reasoning. And a year later they're still ahead of their control groups.*

* *Despite the fact the parents aren't participating in this value education, huh?*

* *Despite the fact that the parents aren't participating. We found that it works with ghetto black kids as well as with middle-class white kids.*

* *Have you got this available?*

* *Yes. There's one article that's in press and then there is a thesis which has just been finished.*

** *Implicit in this approach must be the assumption of the acceptance of different values musn't it? So that there's a sort of a value relativity theory coming?*

* *That gets off into my own efforts to deal with the value relativity issue. I think with the problem of value relativity for teachers who are dealing primarily with disadvantaged kids is a big one. And I haven't found universal stages of development in moral thinking regardless of the cultural group so that you can take the simulation of development. In other words, it's not the inculcation of middle-class moral values. It's the stimulation of universal sequences in thinking about values.....*

* *Verbalizing?*

* *But I think the point you're making is basic because what this involves for the teacher, and the teacher in training is some rethinking about values themselves. You have now the unenlightened teachers who come into a ghetto school with simply an absolutistic notion of middle-class morality. And then you have the 'hipper' teachers who come in with a notion of absolute cultural relativity, you know, everybody's got their bag and then they say - I can't impose my*

middle-class values on these kids and so on. I've written some stuff for teachers on the philosophical issues involved in this because I think it's an important kind of issue and you need, of course, a notion of value relativity sufficiently to be aware of the arbitrariness of where middle-class morality is out of the question.

** How do you deal with that problem--the problem of unwillingness to commit oneself to a particular value position--you know, the hip teacher who comes in and says I can't make a judgement about any values. Do you deal with it by saying - look, in a given context if you operate with such and such a value, it will be functional in a sense that you'll get such and such a return, and if you operate with a different set of values it will be dysfunctional and that you'll get such and such a deficit?

* No. Actually what I claim to have found (and by and large most of the philosophers I talked to about this thing are reasonably, I mean reasonably, in agreement about this), is that there are some things called universal principled kinds of reasoning about ethical dilemmas that are value dormant.....

* Honor among thieves that Plato talked about in the Republic, huh?

* Not honor among thieves, but that there must be some degree of honor or they couldn't even function.

* Yes, but that's all relative. See, that's only a relativistic notion which says we all need rules. No, but that there are such things as universal rational.....

* You're talking about absolutes that?.....

* Not absolutes. The point is that when people argue cultural relativity or the relativity of morals they really take off. There are two sets of ideas that lead them to relativistic positions. One is that apparent facts, of diversity from one group to another.

* Anthropological.

* Yes. However, the facts have been incorrectly interprated, in the sense that, what we found is that in every culture we've gone into we get the same modes of moral reasoning and the same sequence of development in these modes of moral reasoning, including lower-class black culture. Their difference is in grade of development and there is some difference in content.

Now if you look at criteria of moral belief--"do you think this is good or bad?"--that has very little realtionship to what people actually do. For instance, if you ask kids; "how bad is it to cheat - very bad, not so bad, etc.?", then you put them in a cheating situation. Their earlier judgement won't predict to whether they cheat or not. But if you look at their levels of moral reasoning, this predicts very highly. For example, only 11% of 'principled' kids will cheat, where 60% of lower stage kids will, and so on.

** *Is this material available?*

* *I've written some of this in journal articles and there's a book that's coming out on the cross-cultural stuff, probably two or three years hence. We have just done the last wave of longitudianl interviewing. That study has been going for fifteen years.*

* *How old are the subjects?*

* *I started with children 10 to 15 and they're now adults in their late 20's.*

* *Let me come back to the issue of social class and achievement. Everyone seems to think that at least Jensen and a good many others including Zigler, seem to think that the genetic constitution of the class structure is correlated much better with all these achievement tests than any school conditions or any teaching device you can get.*

* *Zigler has no more evidence than Jensen.*

* *I've got a little evidence--that social class is better correlated with achievement tests and intelligence tests than any teaching device you've got in the school.*

* *This is so, but when you go back to genetics.....*

* *That's irrelevant.*

* *That's a different argument.*

* *Let me give you one little fact. I have a project in Athens. We have got (i) the municipal orphanage where there is one caretaker for ten children, (ii) another orphanage where there's a caretaker for every three babies, and (iii) we have 150 home-reared babies. There's no difference in ages across these three groups. Now, we've used our scale on the construction of the object and our scale on imitation for testing. Let me give you the results. For the consturction of the object; you have a child reach for something*

and then you cover it two thirds rather than cover it completely. When you follow through a hidden displacement we get no reversibility in these kids where there's a caretaker for ten. There are 15 months difference between them (where there's one caretaker for 10) and those children where there's a caretaker for 3. And the caretakers of threes are a couple of months behind the home grown babies on the average. But even more interesting than that, it seems to me, is the standard deviation in this. For the group where there is a caretaker for three (acting under a supervisor) the standard deviation in the ages of these kids who do not follow through a series, is two and a fraction months. The interesting thing is that the standard deviation for the 1 in 10's is seven months.

You have the pet-reject pehnomenon very clearly. (You can't go into an orphanage of this kind without finding the pet-reject phenomenon). Now in the family home reared babies it's 10 and a fraction months. Despite the fact that the mean is down, there's a tremendous variation among them. Some of the slowest kids we've got are home reared babies. And the curious thing about it is that the range of the socio-economic class of the parents is greater in both of the orphanage samples.

PART II

* *We haven't finished the topic we started with--our reaction to the sociologists comment that so much of the social function is being put into the school. I have some negative thoughts about it.*

* *Would you mind telling us more about what the sociologists said? I also have some negative reactions.*

** *I'm partly interpreting what I heard and perhaps when I go back to listen to the tape I'll find the interpretation is a false one. But the impression I gained was that they felt that there were certain cognitive domains and skill performance domains that were legitimate to the school. They contended that these should be the principal concern of the school and anything over and above this, that was not contributing to the development of cognitive and motor skill, should be left out of the system. They maintained, realistically, that teachers can't do everything, can't save society, so they should do what they can do for two reasons: (1) that it's reasonable to use resources to the fullest extent possible, and (2) that this would give teachers a form of expertise that could be clearly demonstrated, so that teachers would not be under constant threat from other people who know better about some aspects on which teachers currently make judgements.*

* *Let me summarize briefly my own particular model. It is in fact that necessarily, the school is engaged in socialisation. Socialisation is what they call a hidden curriculum these days. To deny explicit recognition of this function in the training of teachers yields bad socialisation. So the real problem is just a question of making the hidden curriculum explicit, rather than saying that the school doesn't have a socialisation function. As a matter of fact; you couldn't legislate that into enactment no matter how you tried to. And the more you try to legislate it out of existence the more you leave it to the whims of the teachers, the convenience of the administrator.*

* *What they seem to be saying in essence is that schools seem to be used as a garbage bin for everything. They don't seem to differentiate the way in which say, sex education can be taught as a primary lesson in biology, and safety training which may or may not fall on the schools.*

* May I intervene. First of all I want to agree with you but I feel that the use of the term socialisation is likely to be misunderstood by people in sociology and in Congress. What I would like to point out, is that throughout our history, the schools have been used in terms of what was considered to be important in society. For example, when it was important for people to achieve status through oratory in Roman and Greek Societies, the schools made rhetoric the central theme of their training.....

* It is true in the English Private system to-day.

* All right... and when trade was beginning in the 9th, 10th 11th and 12th centuries the thing that was important was record keeping so we had the business of ciphering as it was called--writing. At the time of the Reformation, with Luther and Calvin, reading became important in order to get direct access to the word of God. So you had reading schools established by the church. Now the schools that were set up for the teaching of writing and arithmetic were set up by the guilds. So you went to two different places for schooling. This system was eradicated in England but in America it stayed through to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Believe it or not, when Horace Mann took over in Massachusetts round about 1830, he found reading schools in one part and ciphering schools in another part. What I want to point out is that you cannot teach reading, writing and arithmetic now, without getting some form of socialisation. My grandfather was a country school teacher, a graduate of Purdue. I remember him telling us stories about how he had to 'lick' the older boys in the school before he could start teaching. He used to have fist fights with the kids and this was part of the socialisation process.

** But, for arguments sake, if the seven liberal arts were sufficient in Renaissance education, if learning to read was sufficient in early protestant education, what is now the functional equivalent of what is sufficient?

* I think we have several kinds of things that go into it. This is what I lump under competence. Competence to me means: a set of cognitive skills, at a really quite high level; a set of motives so that one can function in society and do a good job; and then some

standards of value, if you will. And here ethical standards become part of the game. A kid cannot get approved, general social standards if he comes from some specific social class background--not because of any genotypical limitations on potential but because by accident he has just not got parents who can teach him the value system and the standards necessary to cope in this industrial society of ours.

** *When you used your three domains, did you mean it prescriptively--that everyone* *has* *to learn some cognitive skills that you would accept as right?*

* *No, I would say, if I tried to put this in a nutshell, keep homeostatic meaning contained to a minimum and keep before the youngster continuously the consequences of his activities, his attitudes and his values.*

** *You mean* *social* *consequences?*

* *Social, health..... etc.*

* *You're really asking a somewhat different question--what does society require now--be it in cognitive skills, social skills, or interpersonal actions--that differentiate society today from society when it required ciphering, reading and what have you.*

* *(Puerto Rico--fifty years ago.)*

* *I think that within society we can see some indications that we are beginning to feel that technology is not enough. Learning cognitive skills per se is not sufficient. Certainly among the young (and perhaps the old too) there is a feeling that one of the functions of the school or of society is that the proper kind of 'character' (to use a bad word) needs to be developed. People are dissatisfied with producing technically competent but anti-social type of behavior. So I suspect, when talking about what society might need and what is important, perhaps we may be seeing a trend towards a recognition of the importance of psychological skills, interpersonal skills and social skills, and these can be taught.*

* *I think industry has gone a long way towards this. I might mention here some research of Michael Argyle's (of Oxford) which is explicitly trying to analyse the components of social skill, (particularly non-verbal aspects of social skill) and is setting up a program trying to train people who are deficient in these. These*

are people who are simply unaware of the kinds of skills that are needed. Perhaps many of the difficulties the teacher confronts is due to the fact that these kids do not seem to have the social skills that are at least required by the middle class teacher. Their lack is interpreted by her in a very negative way. And the children's behavior is not being caused by the kids being 'anti-social' but because they haven't learned the practical interpersonal skills of dealing with other people.

** If he's right, what are the implications for the training of teachers--for the training and education of teachers. We want to produce teachers who can (a) recognize the problem and (b) do something about it. What therefore, should we do to the teacher in training?

* There are good reasons for arguing that in the curriculum there should be kinds of training explicitly dealing with the problem--values, social skill training, interpersonal sensitivity, knowledge of group interaction and the like--which middle class kids often get when they are in the process of growing up.

* They should get this now in an intellectual sense?

* Yes.

* I think there has to be an intellectual context so that it carries with it an aspect of self-awareness and feedback that is not available to teachers today. Teachers are thrown into a system and there is no context they can relate to or interact with. There's also another point here--and sociologists are more prone to this than psychologists--and that is denigrating technology when part of the problem is the mastery of technology and the fact that youngsters are insufficiently trained in statistical, mathematical skills or in the physical sciences, to handle the kinds of technological capabilities that exist.

* Right.

** I have found that the linguists have certain preconceptions about the psychologists' position on language which, in fact, you have demonstrated are inaccurate. I have found the sociologists have certain misconceptions about the psychologists' position on a number of things, and, in fact, you've disabused my mind on these too. Now in fairness to my sociologists, they didn't think in the way that you just attributed to sociologists. They're concerned with the individual within the system and the manipulation of the system and of the impact of system factors on the individual. In fact one of their principal arguments was the individualisation of instruction simply because it's socially functional.

* How did they get to the position that the school should limit itself to reading, writing and arithmetic, or have I put words in their mouths.

** Yes, I think you have--in fact I suppose I'm the guilty party here in giving an imperfect translation. I think what they said is that there are certain restricted domains of expertise that the school can handle, and only the school can handle and if the school can specify them for everyone concerned, this will be good. It will be good in so far as it gives the teachers security and a corner on an exclusive market. It'll be good in so far as the teacher's role will become better defined for the community at large so community expectations will be consistent with what the teacher does. Now the actual parameters of this content, if you like to call it that, were not specified. But I did infer from their comments that they were concerned with cognitive capability and performance meaning social and vocational performance.

* Well now, are they thinking about people as most philosophers of education have been, only as talking animals, or are they thinking of the process of development into talking animals and into animals that can operate with the symbol system. You see Plato in the Republic is basically only interested in the talking animal. But when you get over into the Laws, he has about ten pages in book ten where he was prepared to start rearing the child at conception.

By and large Watson was guilty of this in '28. He really felt you let the kid develop his repertoire but learning doesn't really start (except emotionally--you can condition emotions early) until you have let the intellectual skills develop, then you can work on them. Even the great environmentalists let 'maturation' take care of all these early epigenesis. And if the sociologist is going to talk that way, then it seems to me he lacks any conception of what's going on in development and the teaching process--before the kid goes to school.

* The teaching-learning stimulus-response kind of process. Transactional aspects both on the cognitive as well as affective levels.

* I don't think there's any real distinction between the affective and cognitive levels.

* Probably not except for purposes of conceptualization.

* There's one aspect of the school situation we're probably overlooking when we say that the school should be a place for cognitive and affective skill mastery and so on, and that is the social structure of the school. The kid is learning not simply from a family structure and teachers with students structure. We sometimes forget that something like eight hours a day are spent with other kids. And the influence (well noted in the Coleman Report, and others on social class and the like) influence the other kids. This type of learning is going on in the school anyway.

* Let me argue that this is one reason why the school's activities should perhaps be curtailed.

* Should be what?

* Curtailed. That is, the school is discontinuous as a set up with almost all parts of society. What children learn in terms of role and group behavior they almost never have a chance to use in real life. As a matter of fact, in learning about the system and other kinds of social behavior, the orientation to and relation to the form of instruction in school is something which isn't really repeated (except in some bureaucratic structures) later on. One of the things that concerns me about what goes on in the school--and I agree the school is a basic socializing agent which includes cognitive content styles with quite a lot to do with the values in society--is that there's so much discontinuity between life in the classroom and life just about anywhere else. One could argue that the school in its present form is not really set up to serve the primary socializing functions we would like it to serve.

* Yes, I guess we all agree and would like to see the socializing function of the school in a different way from the way it is. Take for example those who will argue as kinds of apologists for the traditional order. They would claim that the bureaucratic structure of the school and its discontinuity with the rest of life is necessary

to train the kid to live in a bureaucratic society where everything is disassociated and discontinuous.

* But a bureaucratic society doesn't replicate the kind of classroom interaction in which kids spend most of their time in school.

* I don't think it even does a very good job to prepare them for life in bureaucratic society.

* A helluva lot of time in schools is utterly wasted--Jackson's point.

* One of the central paints is that whatever we refer to as the social structure of the school, most of it is dysfunctional to any learning that takes place--either learning democracy or learning in terms of technological interpersonal skills.

* I've had a number of experiences that may be relevant here but I want to come to them after I've asked a question. My own point of view in which I expressed a series of doubts this morning represents a very radical change from my first one. I really thought for a while that we would have to pull right away from parents and institutionalize education. But the results I see in some parents involvement studies indicates that you can go into it and do something with the parents. But in the Task Force Report we thought of the Parent and Child Centers as something distinct from the school. We tried to build a new kind of institutionalized neighborhood organisation here that developed an interdependency around day care centers and early childhood education. We let the child go to the school in the traditional fashion and afterwards come back to the center--this still may be advisable, I don't know. But I've come round to believe that the school itself should take over this function, that the school itself should become the neighborhood center, and should become the agency through which the interdependency develops. The school should take on the role of day care center for the little kids and so on.

** Let's take two points of view--those in favor and those who don't agree (because we can build disagreement into the final report we want to make). Question, if in fact you see it either way, what does the teacher in preparation need to be able to do in this way?

* You need different functions in the school. For instance, it seems to me that Universities in so far as they are coping or not coping

with the problems of the inner city, are forgetting what they learned after the Land Grant Act of a century ago, and after the Parnell Funds Act that developed the idea of home economies and child study centers. We're forgetting that what we developed and what worked in this century was a system of extension education, country agents.

*** Forgive me--my one preoccupation is with the teacher, and for keep talking about the system and the organisation of the system. We have to ask the question; given the conditions that exist at the moment, to what extent can the teacher be trained to move towards the condition you envisage?*

** Don't we have here really a pivotal question? In a sense I would have thought that the sociologists would have been concerned with this as one of their major purposes. That is, do you go for alternative systems like we've just talked about, like the day care program, street academies etc., or do you say that this is exotic and rare and that alternative systems do not have sufficient impact so you work through the major institution to increase its thrust by getting structural changes in the systems that are meaningful?*

*** I think this is a larger question, but I'm restrained at the moment by one particular point--I've got a teacher with thirty kids, so what can she do about the thirty kids? And also (and this was the sociologists point) what can she do about the system. To some extent the sociologists would advocate that the teacher gets trained to appreciate the routes to institutional change--so that they can come to function effectively as change agents. The question I have to ask then is; given the particular point of view you take about the situation now and the prospective situation as you hope it arises, what does the teacher need to get in order to be able to deal with either situation--either the constrained and restricted now or the somewhat more expansive and more optimistic future?*

** What is in the school as an organisation, as a body of authority would have to be changed and altered to give the teacher....*

*** No, no..... what can the teacher do about it?*

** That's a very different kind of question. I wonder if it's an artificial question. Asking what can the individual teacher do about it is a different question from asking what can P.S. 14 do about it.....*

** Right.

* ..... is a different question from what can the district do about it.

** Yes.

* Or what Congress can do about it.

** Yes.

* We have to focus entirely on what the teacher can do about it.

* I've already noted the point that you feel that action in the other areas is--maybe--more important.

* I think that a teacher who is forced into the kind of spot I saw them in in Teheran, where they have seventy children in class, 60-80 in the typical classroom situation, under these circumstances all that a teacher can be taught to try to do is simply cope--it's an utterly impossible situation.

* I've a suggestion. Given the present conditions, and while we would like to see a more and more effective socialising process (and in some ways that's an impossibility for us too), it seems to me that one of the things you need to do is teach the teacher how more effectively to manipulate and use the various things that influence what goes on in the classroom.

** O.K.

* For example, parent involvement and community control and so on as a movement has a lot of implications for the classroom. This is because if a community starts to stand up in opposition to the school, the teacher's influence in the classroom can very easily be undercut. The teacher who thinks she is dealing only with individual children or even groups of 30 or 35 kids in the classroom (and that this has no relation to what is going on outside, of course) is in difficulties. It seems to me that some knowledge about the relationships between what goes on in the classroom and the sorts of things that frustrate her most what goes on in the community is something for teachers to know.

* This carries with it the need to explicate what it is that teachers can do in terms of alternative actions during the school day. She starts out the day, and if we restrict here immediately to the necessity of peer support which is, I think, a very important

element, what happens to that teacher in terms of cutting down the 70% of time that goes into disciplinary behavior--possibly getting an inversion so that 70 or 80% goes into some kind of learning process.

* ..... by the use of behavior modification technics. For example Kounin's latest stuff. In his earlier work he found, on frequency of misbehavior in various classrooms, that it was in no way related to the amount or use of different kinds of punishment and disciplinary techniques, the thing that was highly predictive of the amount of misbehavior in a classroom was the teacher's skills in keeping control of the kids' attention--keeping the kids interested in other words. As soon as the focus shifted to the disciplinary thing, then trouble occurred. This contradicts most teacher stereotypes.....

* Not really. But you see as soon as you get toward law enforcement, you get less and less learning and more and more problem children acting out.

* This relates to what I was about to say a minute or two ago--about Marie Hughes' 2nd, 3rd and 4th grades in Tuscon Arizona, and the open schools of the group in Florida. I went into an open Junior High School where there's not a room in the whole place. There are open areas. My friend's son was assigned to take us around and he said; "gee Dad, I have to make a report to-morrow on this conformity study, and I can't read it, I've got to talk it, and I really don't have time to take you around.' These two kids had worked out these data. They had read the literature--seventh grade. They had written about a 40 page paper. They had got it typed and they had references on it. And they were too damn busy getting ready to present this, to be able to take us around. We went around ourselves and there were kids busy everywhere. No one paid attention to us. I saw the same sort of thing in the infant schools in England.

* England's moving in the same direction?

* Yes.

* Exactly what we have in our Harlem schools but we had to go in and get parental help and pull up the chairs and throw them out in the yard. It was a matter of getting assistants to say all right, we want to have discovery corners, and learning centers, and listening centers,

a library corner and a conversation corner and so on. And then the kids started to turn themselves on in active small groups. But with all the readiness of the system, saying they were going to have individualisation of instruction, after two years of applying to have the desks removed (they couldn't be removed) we just had to go and rip them up in many classes ourselves. The system disapproved and threatened punitive measures but.....

* But there's another side... This group that set up this Junior High has the parents feeling that the kids aren't learning. They are not coming home with the grades on spelling tests, and arithmetic tests. That's all the parents are familiar with. Now all the achievement test data indicate that they are moving way ahead of kids in the other schools in the district but the parents don't know this. The behavior is different from the behavior they knew and they really have to cope with it. So the director has a real sensitivity training process for groups working with the parents. We've got a number of models of this kind.

** All right, to what extent are these models useful for our teachers going into the conventional situation?

* I think that this is one place where most of the research that has gone on has not been surveyed. It isn't something you can indoctrinate--maybe you could.....

** Now, we're starting from scratch, with brand new entrants in teacher training and we've got four years to train them.

* There are two techniques that teachers could use without going to the more extreme forms of encounter group to change the system. For example, particularly among disadvantaged kids, a big problem is that they experience a lot of failure both cognitive and motivational.

* And they expect a lot of failure.

* I want to talk about that a little later--these expectencies that those kids have. But I was going to say that what the teacher should do that has good social psychological data to support it, is for example, dividing the kids into groups and having competition between groups, that involves some superordinate goal that is handled by the groups. That it is something the group does in comparison with others is the thing that counts rather than the individual competition.

This decreased the possibility that failure is going to be seen so much as a matter of individual inadequacy. Because it is what your entire group does that counts. This will increase the motivation for trying for success because your group as a group is competing with other groups. This is somewhat similar to what happens in athletic teams, where you find people trying hard--where individual effort maximises the team effort and so on. One thing we know is that this type of cooperative effort takes away a lot of the fear that is involved when the individual is engaged in some kind of task on his own.

* Superordinate goals are also a very good source of motivations. There are two practical aspects for the teacher: (i) it's a sign of teaching failure if you have to have the total class together and to give a lecture that involves everyone in the class--essentially the teacher's role is more one of guidance and responding to fairly relevant groupings of children in the classroom, (ii) the other aspect that is very important is the teacher's awareness not so much of where the child stands in any academic hierarchy but the basic level of the individual child and the child's increments in terms of various kinds of cognitive measures. And it has to be in terms of the individual child, not in a comparison of one child with another child.

** It's a question of his own relative behavior.....

* To his own original performance.

* I can describe how Marie Hughes did this. She had little groups of six that planned a project--they were six year old Mexican-American kids. They might go visiting their fathers and have their fathers describe in Mexican--Spanish--what they were doing. When the kids came back they each drew a picture of the outing. (By the way, this whole thing turned on planning.) It was planned on monday; re-planned on tuesday (when they made changes in it); typically conducted on wednesday; talked about on thursday in retrospect; the story was dictated on friday. The whole week gets organized in terms of these projects and of course there's a bunch of stuff on phonics that goes with it. But they plan this thing and the kids write--dictate--their stories in English. These are taken down on a typewriter and at the same time they're taken down on tape. Then the tapes are played next monday when the kids listen to the stories and argue about pronunciation

and the composition of sentences as they go through. Now this project is laid out so you can show the kid his performance over time: "a month ago you only had about 3 lines, now your stories are 10 lines long" and so on.

* *We started doing exactly the same about 7 years ago and it worked beautifully till last year. Last year it all broke down. Every tape recorder was stolen three times. This is an aspect of the macro-social situation that Marie Hughes doesn't face down there. But in the urban ghetto it's an enormous problem.*

** *The principle that I would like to take out of this is that there are devices which can be used to demonstrate to children that they are achieving. Now, given the tendency for the teacher to want to get positive reinforcement for her efforts, and given what we know to be a teacher characteristic, namely that teachers do give special attention to the better kids, that they do tend to find a convenient excuse for dismissing the lower achievers, how can we overcome this tendency?*

* *How can you avoid the teacher taking immediate self-gratification from the performance of her own pupils.?*

** *Yes.*

* *How can you get her to put a dispropottionate effort into the efforts of youngsters who are possibly trying but not succeeding? One of the ways that this can take place is by avoiding the whole corrective feedback thing where you insist on an absolutely correct answer--that you examine whatever the response pattern may be and make an attempt to spend a disproportionate time with the youngster who is having difficulty with working out say, sounds, telling stories, verbalising, etc. The natural tendency of teachers seems to be to go to the youngster who can give the complete story, or complete the story or whatever else may be involved. Of course we want to avoid this and get the teacher to go to the child who is having the greatest difficulty. The other child will carry himself.*

* *Can I take an example? This was in a school outside Leicestershire, in the country--lower middle class background, not lower class, they are striving people and the school was relatively new. The juniors and the infants were together, by the way, in the one great big area.*

Now the interesting thing that they had evolved there was that the kids in the infant school who got into trouble and couldn't do something, didn't go to the teacher necessarily but they were steered to go to people in the junior school who were having trouble themselves, so that the younger children got guidance and also it was a rewarding thing for the others to be asked to help. The kids who were having trouble with reading in the junior school were asked to help the kids who were down there in the infant school with reading problems. They have some nice cases, where the reading achievement level of the youngster who was asked to help, jumps abruptly.

* *I think one of the things that is relevant to the teacher training issue is the simple question of how to use incorrect answers. This is something most teachers are abysmal failures at. There's a lot of solid work on how to use wrong answers. Let me give a concrete example from our moral education project. Our method is to use discussion with kids at different levels within the same classroom. We break the kids into groups of 15. Then we give them a dilemma and we argue about it. The stage II's argue with the I's and the III's with the II's. In one particular ghetto school we had the ordinary junior high school teacher. He takes one half of the class. He was supposed to stimulate discussion of the hypothetical problem. The question before the group on this occasion was; "Which is worse, stealing from the government or stealing from a private person?" In the section that this teacher was teaching, the group was equally divided between kids who said; "it's worse to steal from the government because that way you're in big trouble" (stage I) and others who said; "it's worse to steal from a person because the government won't miss it anyhow." So there was a good stage I-II argument going. Finally the teacher cut in and said; "the real point is that stealing is wrong" and he wrote WRONG on the board.*

The next question was one about an army officer in Korea ordering a man on a suicide mission. Again the kids got involved in a heated discussion and our strategy would have been to clarify the stage I-II thing. (After some of this goes on the kids enjoy the argument.) So the teacher says; "well, the real point is that the captain has the authority", and he writes AUTHORITY on the board and underlines it. That's kind of extreme but it actually happened.

** To what extent do the ideas that are being discussed presume a teacher with a certain level of cognitive development and at a certain level of educational sophistication? It seems to me that if you're going to play philosophy, you have to be fairly skilled in philosophical thinking so that if, in fact you are going to talk about social consequences of different types of actions, you're going to have to have a fairly wide kind of education. This would need to include a certain amount of sociology, a whole lot of history, political science, economics and so on. Would you be willing to make any pronouncements about the kind of place that that sort of education could legitimately be expected to take, given the need for training in the skills of teaching anyway.

* I suspect it's not a background in philosophy. And as a matter of fact, our elementary courses in psychology are not worth a continental damn--they're better not taken. But we could give a course that would be worth while.

* One thing that it might be useful to a teacher to be aware of is (like Heider says) that people have these simple 'naive' psychologies about how people operate. Now, if teachers are not trained in philosophical, psychological and scientific understanding of human behavior, then they will nonetheless have some simple cognitive theory of the world--cognitive theory of behavior. It is important, I suspect, for teachers to be aware that they have such a naive theory of the causation of human behavior and to know what it is, and to be aware of how they may be applying such common-sense kind of psychological theory to these lower class students.

* There's a question that you're asking here--what we were talking about before--that the blackboard courtroom to which teachers are exposed is practically and completely irrelevant to what's necessary in terms of competence. I would opt very strongly for courses in logic, in general psychology, a good understanding of statistics and mathematics. I would feel that anthropology would be extremely important, particularly urban anthropology--most teachers are not taught to be adequately aware in any of these.

** I hope someone will argue with you and if they won't, I will. O.K.?

* You do it first.

* Before you start may I say something? I don't see how you can expect teachers to really teach without having a pretty good education. I grant you that our colleges are set up to-day so that they teach things in departmental compartments. But I don't think a person can be a teacher without being reasonably well educated.

* Yes, but will any teacher have a chance to utilize this broad education when they move into a culturally disadvantaged school where 90% of the time is spent trying to keep order.

** Let me put this to you for what it's worth. Our linguists and our sociologists, and I suspect you too, if the truth were told, don't necessarily enjoy teaching education majors who are not specialising in their relevant discipline. In fact, you feel they start with an initial disadvantage simply because they are not initiated into the psychology culture. Now, given this kind of dissatisfaction, the solution that the sociologists and linguist offered was, courses in 'Sociology for Teaching', and 'Linguistics for Teaching'. In other words, they wanted to make a wedding between the social institution of education and their particular discipline--one did not play the compartmentalizing game so much that the teachers never got to the relevancy of the discipline. Now does this kind of reasoning hold any appeal for you?

* You'd have a helluva time getting it taught and you'd have to have someone really very much interested in education. It so happens that I think that a lot of the stuff we teach in the old fashioned elementary psychology at the Arts College level is completely irrelevant to what a person needs to know in industry or anywhere else. I can think of it as very important scientifically at the graduate school, but I would not teach the elementary course as we teach it to-day.

* I have a personal solution to this problem in my little moral education 'bag'. In North Carolina they put the kids who are majoring in education into the schools in the first year and then they run a year-long course on moral education for the teachers to stimulate their egos and moral development. What they do with those teachers in training is to get them to do the same thing that we've been trying

to do at High School and Junior High School level--that is get them to argue with each other to stimulate the next level of thinking. Development is far from over at undergraduate school. The kids are quite open to development there. Once they've got deep into the school system and they're a few years older, they get locked in. I don't know how successful this will be. In other words, our teacher who wrote AUTHORITY on the board is a kind of conventional example of what I call a stage IV 'law and order orientation' and I don't know what he can do at that point.

** *You've suggested some experiences that may well develop the kind of 'withitness' (to use a Kouninism) that you would want teachers to have. That's useful to us, we can build that into our program. Our program at the moment is so open, that any kind of procedure is possible.*

* *Can you teach ways of breaking down the classroom, as the English infant schools have done--so that your trainees can get experience in that kind of classroom as well as in some other kinds? They can then compare these.*

** *Sure.*

* *This I think would be great. I suppose I've visited a couple of hundred classrooms in the course of the last 5 years and I can say that I've* *never* *seen a classroom with a teacher up in front in which my coming to the classroom did not produce a whole bunch of head turning. I have yet to see an individualised instruction classroom where your coming into it makes a scrap of difference.*

** *Generally, are there techniques and skills that are relevant to developing this sort of an organisation in the first place, and sustaining it?*

* *I don't know this--I don't know how it is done--I don't know how you would do it.*

** *Our next step in the project of course, once we've distilled all the wisdom that's produced, is to convert it to behavioral objectives. We will ask ourselves the question, if this is what we want the teachers to be able to do, how can we organize courses for them so that they come out of the program with these skills, abilities, understandings etc.*

* *I would think part of that training would be to have participated*

with a skilled teacher in the organizing of that kind of a classroom--having participated with a skilled teacher in leading or conducting thing kind of organisation.

*   There's an aspect of this that does concern me. It calls for some relatively small groups in the training process and all of us at universities are getting directives from administrators to double and triple classes. Immediately if you depend on dialogue you're thwarted. I teach logic through cognitive discussions--setting up a lot of conflicting situations and discussing them, suddenly a seminar I have booked to have fifteen or twenty, has got 60 people in it.

*   What do you do about it?

*   I don't want to face it--I just learned about it last week.

**   I don't believe it can't be done though.

*   I'ld just like to say though that it becomes increasingly difficult as you minimize individual participation. We worked with teachers at the M.A. level in training courses and we didn't meet with any difficulty but we never had groups of more than 20. But we found a diminishing effect as soon as we got to 30 and 35.

*   You've got to do the same thing you're asking your teachers to do. As a matter of fact, if I end up next fall with a batch of students rather than my customary 15, I'm going to meet them once a week in a lecture and I'm going to put them into small groups and I'll come into the groups and pick them up and set them situations to deal with.

**   You know, you psychologists would help if you developed a theory of vicarious learning--one based on a model in which the learner is not directly part of the S-R exchange--because this is what happens in classrooms. Characteristically there is interaction between pupil a and teacher or between pupil b and teacher, while pupils c through z are watching. Then we make assumptions about the extent to which the watchers are identifying with either the stimulus source or the response source. Anyway that's beside the point.

*   You're really getting at an important thing here and I can ask some important related questions. For example, what kind of lecture material can be presented in lecture form without loss, and what kind of skills demand participation. I have a hunch that for this logical argument stuff and this business of being able to cope, you have to have

participation. You can't learn how to do psychotherapy without having done some of it--and watched some other people do it. That's one thing in psychotherapy, students take tapes, taken of Rogers and listen to his style. They then tend to experiment with various roles portrayed. One who's quite famous now acknowledges that Rogers was his ideal, but after hearing him, realized that he couldn't play Rogers' role--it wasn't for him. So he became quite didactic but he learned how, from example.

Apropos of this, Hall at Nebraska in Educational Psychology as part of his Nebraska Human Resources Research, puts 150-200 youngsters from around the campus as leaders of these teams in which a counselling relationship with someone in the community, using graduate students as team leaders. Now, what I see as a possibility in teaching is a course in developmental psychology at graduate level that undertakes to do research in various lines and has the class come up with data.

* Wilson in the University of California at San Diego--Human Resources Institute--has been doing an essentially parallel task with reasonable success.

** To what extent then does the 'other than human interaction' fit into the model you have been talking about. For instance, what about learning about mathematics, the periodic table, content and so on? Where does programmed learning come into this? Where does CAI come in? Where do the other ritual forms of learning--you know, books--come into it?

* It's interesting you put books last.

* Books are very important. As we go up the age scale it looks to me as if this non-participant learning becomes a bit more important. In nursery school age--at seven--when children are beginning to produce concrete operations, then discovering learning books like the technique. Then once you get to high school, a lot of the stuff *can* be done on a didactic basis.

* ..... and a monastic basis.

* And a monastic basis--alone. For instance there's no sense in learning a language in lectures--one lecture and the rest of the time in the language labs is enough. As a matter of fact, in chemistry you had better spend the time in the labs and in the library *rather than* in

the classroom. Probably the lecture is one of the poorest places to get knowledge.

** Now to some extent our teachers of disadvantaged children have been trained by the system to rely on the lecture technique to carry their message. They don't have the other resources to call upon.

* Are you saying they can't change? Shouldn't your teacher training train them to get to little groups to get at developmental learning?

** What I'm getting at is, how far can they go?

* Teachers ought to get training in information retrieval and the utilisation of libraries. Generally speaking they do not have that training. When they go into the professional field they do not know how to go back and get other kinds of information or formulate questions that can carry them back to bibliographies and information.

* Let me make a point that I think is related to what we're talking about. It's said, and I don't know whether the data vouches for this or not, that focus among lower class kids and particularly the boys, is likely to be more on motor type behavior. Now all this obvious activity is interpreted by middle class teachers as indicating disruption, inattention and so on. Something of that kind could possibly be exploited--maybe by some sort of role play techniques at this level. We were talking earlier of Bereiter and Engelman who seem to have considerable success. Is this perhaps because the total response of the child is involved--they shout back, yell back the answers and so on. The kid is not sitting somewhat passively--visually responding with a book as middle class kids might be more prepared to do. Now, Sorenson at Washington has done some very interesting stuff with delinquents--a little higher than 1st graders--and he found that their getting into violence a lot, was because they did not have in their behavioral repertoire, the sorts of social skills to deal with particular situations that they encountered....

* ....other than fighting.

** Yes--that is the appropriate responses--responses that would not get them into trouble. You know a policeman might stop them just to ask a question, and they might respond aggressively or hostilely or something and get into trouble. So he devised a system in which he simply organized *role play situations providing alternatives. They go through the things actually acting the thing out using verbal and other responses. Then they discuss it, and discuss the consequences of this kind of behavior. The result is that they get behavioral responses in their repertoire and can discriminate amongst situations according to appropriate and inappropriate forms of behavior. When these kids go back to their communities and meet a tough situation similar to the type they practised, they run through their repertoire, identify the situation and modify their (spontaneous) response accordingly.*

* *That's very effective. We've been doing that with parents using a child rearing questionnaire and interviewers who go through the form of behavior with the parents and role play various forms of behavior and discuss the advantages. And it proves to be a very powerful though simple weapon.*

* *The principal difficulty is to discriminate the appropriate, particular responses in a situation and to try to see the consequences of one type of response over another. So in this actual motor practice of the situation, the kid can see this and give back. Now if in fact the lower class kids are more active, motorically, don't sit still.....*

* *I've supported that kind of data but I don't think it's true any longer.*

* *However, it is true that sometimes some learning situations involve more motoric action than others.*

* *We should also consider the fact that kids, particular kids learn better when there is an affective emotional relationship with the teacher.*

* *Sure.*

* *There's data to support this.*

* *Isn't that more true of the younger kids than the older?*

* *No, if you look at at least two of the programs that have been very effective in changing behavior, changing values and actually in bringing about some change in skills too, you will find they have created a situation in which there is high identification on high emotional relationships between the individual and the 'teacher'.*

* *I think the important thing here is the identification, the close emotional relationship you have with another individual or with the group.*

* *What I want to lead to here is that I think that one of the*

difficulties we have in teaching disadvantaged children is that we have too many female teachers. So that identification, particularly for the boys is more likely to be more difficult, and is less likely to occur. It's interesting that in England they still have male teachers.

** *In New Zealand nearly 50% of elementary school teachers are male.*

* *We don't think it's very important having male teachers in terms of the identification data. The evidence for the developmental influence is kind of uneven--it's difficult to generalize from. I feel that more important than that, there are quite a few in spots round the country (I can think of 50 or 60) where there are really successful female teachers in the same kind of context. But they do get away from the passivity model. It seems extremely important in that the youngsters do have opportunity to walk around--a certain amount of location freedom.*

* *Let me make one point. There is one thing to indicate that achievement learning etc. is facilitated when teacher-pupil sex roles are congruent--particularly among males, where masculine sex role identification is apparently quite an important thing. There's data to indicate for example, that the difference found between males and females in arithmetic can be completely eliminated when the content of the problem is made appropriate for the females.*

* *Which indicates perhaps that the teacher should know something about the content of the roles that are being taught.*

* *There's an example of this given by John Brewer in Pittsburgh--it worked very successfully while he was a teacher. He set up a kind of economic flow chart and he taught mathematics on the basis of the characteristics of the community. And all classes had to come in with reports with statistical overlays and what-have-you. It worked successfully while he was an assistant principal and while he was principal.. But when he got promoted up to the first black deputy superintendent, he lost control of all this and the school went down immediately.*

* *In other words, he was really having some of the input into the decision-making process of teaching.*

* *Right--the powerful input of one man.*

** *Will you respond to an implied challenge I gave earlier. You mentioned the importance of an affective relationship between the children* *and the teacher. Now, I'm suspicious (i) because that's conventional education mythology anyway, and (ii) because of some common sense examples--so I would like to be straightened out please. There are teachers who are obviously disliked in the sense that they're regarded as unpleasant, and seen in the classroom as anxiety generators. But in fact they're effective, and they're acknowledged by the pupils as effective--the pupils say; "we learn there". Now question, is my example insufficiently systematic to be worth taking into account, or is there something here that ought to be talked about?*

* *Well, let me say this. Pleasantness-unpleasantness is not the only variable. There was a Massachusetts study where they showed that the rate of behavior problems, anxiety problems and psychiatric problems rose sharply as children went to certain teachers. These teachers were real mental health hazards to the children--when they came out the problems disappeared.*

Now I also know from personal experience with my Miss Gates in 4th Grade. She was firm, she was demanding, but she was fair. You didn't feel she didn't like you--but she was unpleasant, she wasn't much fun to work with.

** *The reason for my question is, if we pursue the idea that the teacher as it were has to be an affect generator, and the teacher understandably doesn't like some kids or feels negatively towards the class, we also run the risk of promoting intense guilt feelings in the teacher. It seems to me (if my diagnosis is correct) that there's something we can be doing about that so the teacher can both do whatever she can do to generate affect but doesn't have to get psychologically up-tight about it if sometimes it's beyond her.*

* *I would make a distinction between affect and something that we can call 'engaging'. I would say the teacher has to be able to 'engage' the kids in some fashion. And it may mean that engagement is associated with a certain amount of cautious respect, rather than a high and positive regard. In other words, the children can't keep from somehow getting involved in the situation. It seems to me to be a reasonable goal. And to teach trainees to engage the kids. That doesn't necessarily mean that the kids have to like them. You can keep graduate students engaged, busy, productive and learning, even without*

this kind of affect. I think the affect notion is a very slippery one. I'm not sure that high positive affect is really what you need although I've seen it used very effectively with 1st Grades, and very young children. But in fact the teachers used it to get the kids hooked into the system so that they could then teach them.

* *I think that there is very minimal empirical data on the positive or neutral side of affect. But on negative affect--perception by the child of discriminating or bigoted behavior, particularly in the inner city--you do get supporting evidence. This is when the teacher becomes a mental health hazard.*

In the last few days I've been interviewing 50-60 youngsters and 30-40 teachers. Those youngsters could spot every single teacher who was prejudiced and who had a very low expectation for the functioning of the child. Their response was, predictably; "why should I do anything for that teacher, I don't get any credit for it anyhow".

* *What you're saying reminds me of an experience I had as a post doctoral fellow. I had a group of students as patients and I was getting estimates of what they thought they could do on various tasks, and seeing whether they would fail or improve. I was getting these reports ahead of time and as we went over the things I got from so many of them the fact that I was so disappointed that they didn't do well. I didn't know I was communicating this. I had a young psychiatrist interview these people and this was the thing that they kept listening for--that it was disappointing to me that they didn't do well. As a matter of fact this was the result of some kind of communication although I didn't know what I was doing.*

* *Do you know that Wiley's study of high school lower class kids matched with middle class kids on I.Q. and matched chronologically and academically and so on? It shows that lower class children except those kids with very high I.Q.'s, all underestimated their performances by a large amount.*

* *When it comes to the question of what to teach teachers, it seems to me that one useful thing would be to give them a variety of experiences. And these would include a fair amount of research into what failure can actually do. The trainees could be put into situations where they themselves had the same kind of experience.*

* The point to get across I think, and this is related to the sensitivity thing, is to somehow get the teachers to understand at other than at a cognitive level, what it's like to be a failure--especially under circumstances when despite anything you might do, you will fail. I've heard a couple of black leaders talk about this when asked about teacher training programs and what they thought should be done. They said, the first thing (and this applies to researchers as well) is to be sure that white man or woman is put down so severely in some encounters that he knows what it is like. And this is a conscious tactic they use. I don't know how far it would take you--and this is relevant to the sensitivity training point--same kind of experience that helps them to have a little bit of empathy for these sorts of expectations of failure seems advisable.

** Is there any work on sensitivity training that is relevant?

* The University of Chicago did some training of young adults in role playing techniques and so on--not too different from the kind of thing we were talking about earlier--role practice kind of thing. But this role playing with kids is a shifting from the spectator to the actor. For example, some stuff has been done with hyper-active kids who can't sit still--setting the task of sitting still as a game to play in a situation. Then they watch the other kids through a one-way vision screen and they get to see what they did wrong and so on. In the study they got the kids to role play attention and they got remarkable results with this kind of thing.

Another thing we were talking about earlier was what to do about kids you don't like, so as to speak. There are all kinds of things from the Pygmalion effect onwards--that we can talk about. It would be necessary to acknowledge the fact that there are kids that teachers don't like. The problem is to cope with it instead of treating it as a forbidden topic about which we must moralise in all kinds of ways.

* That sort of thing is coming on. At a Denver T.T.T. meeting I was talking to this point and someone said that it was unthinkable that a teacher could be anything but professional in her relationship to a child. My jaw dropped then I told them the facts of life. You know, everybody who has been practicing psychotherapy sooner or later looses his patience somewhat. And as a matter of fact, some of the

most advantageous things come from such lapses from the professional attitude.

** Our educationists reported this; again anecdotally, about the times at which they got through to people. They often got through when they were mad.

* I was going to say that this empathy training things, the T-group and sensitivity group methods and so forth, are supposed to do that and they are being used with increasing frequency in schools both with teachers and pupils but I think they don't work really. Research from T-groups--where people are completely honest with each other, where you tell the person exactly what you think, has not been shown to be effective in changing behavior.

* It changes verbal reports.

* Yes.

* I know one study which does show significant effect of T-group training on moral judgment levels with students associated with very young adults in T-groups (and a control group). And the significant change was downwards. There was a slight regression.

** You intimated you wanted to say something about expectations.

* I just wanted to record that I believed the expectation effect.

** Self-fulfilling prophecy?

* We would all agree, wouldn't we, that these expectations that others have for a communicant group influence behavior.

* There's a study not like Rosenthal's one, but a long term follow-up of patients who as children were pre-schizophrenic, to see if they're now in hospitals or not. It was found that there were therapists who were systematically sending children to the hospital. These turned out to be the psycho-analytically oriented therapists who had a consistently pessimistic negative view of how sick the kids were.

* Fiedler did a follow-up and showed a similar difference between the psycho-analytical therapist and the psychological therapist.

* I should add that the other study hasn't been published because it would be possible to identify the therapists.

* This is why therapists were resistant in the early days when Rogers exposed himself to tape recording. They were apprehensive of

the implications of exposing themselves.

* You know, that was predicted in that book on concepts of positive mental health by Brewster Smith, Marie Jahoda and Stuart Cook.

* Davis who is at Hebrew University in Jerusalem has done an extension or repetition of this pygmalion effect study and got it.

** I have down here the word 'motivation'; partly because confronted by psychologists this is a salient word for me, and partly because we mentioned earlier the importance of motivation. Are there points that ought to be covered that have not been covered about this?

* Well, we really started to cover one point in some detail--reinforcement and what the teacher ought to know. Do you want the kinds of areas that teachers ought to know about?

** Tell me from what you know about motivation, what sort of information, experience and understanding it would profit a teacher to have. How much is enough for the teacher to deal with, whatever motivation is?

* There's not enough knowledge and agreement in the experts to do this right.

* There are some simple things it seems to me to be worthwhile to talk about. One is that motivation is not something that simply resides in the child apart from what the teacher does. That's what I meant by 'engaging' earlier. Some people talk about say, curiosity, as though kids were about half full or two thirds full or so on. It's a fraction of the situation the teacher provides. It might be worthwhile at this point for the teacher to know something about the reinforcements and contingencies set up in most lower class and middle class homes.....

* Or the absence of them.

* Yes..... the behavior of the child is not in terms of time and the usual contingencies related to the behavior of the mother nearly as often as it is in the middle class home. So one of the things the teacher has to do, is to be aware that kids are not as easily controlled by the small cues that she gives. This is because that sort of system of expectancies, that what I do will result in what somebody else does, and vice versa, isn't as well established.

**** (Chorus) Yes.

* I think she needs to know something about the simple mini-schedules

of reinforcement that Skinner has talked about, given the small amount of rewards the teacher has available for example, like getting out of class earlier and things of that sort. She will also for example, give these rewards when the kids are uneasy with the effect that she's reinforcing this kind of non-productive behavior.

*   Well, actually a lot of that is cognitive too. The teacher should think of it as a learned competence.

*   Another element here is that in the lower class home there is often insufficient elaboration and orientation to the kind of specifics that are desired in the behavioral schedule. A teacher can be more aware of the importance of orientation. It's like when you give a testing schedule with instructions to children who have not had testing experience. You just have to give more examples, and you often have to spend more time in the orientation process. I think the same goes in terms of play activities or in terms of reading activities. Very often teachers assume that once they have made an utterance it will have been perceived and comprehended. Usually she will have to anticipate that this is not necessarily the case. This doesn't mean that she has to be redundant but it means she might have to find different formats in order to get across essentially the same point.

**   She needs to learn differing ploys.

*   Also I think that Marie Hughes was very clever in this idea of timing--refining, doing recalling, and then operating on the thing. The kids could begin to thing in terms of the whole week with the operation--kids who had never thought of anything more than 10 minutes ahead. They anticipated into the future and looked back at it afterwards.

**   These were disadvantaged children?

*   They were indeed--Mexican-American children. And what is more, they had to remember all this stuff in a foreign language.

**   This is really delayed gratification.

*   I don't like delayed gratification--I like to see the whole thing--they organized their time and their planning into a whole span.

*   I've written about this extensively and it comes down to certain specifics. The teacher has to put on the board or some place, the total week--monday to friday divided into hours. She has to put up the various kinds of activity that would take place. For example, she has

to ask the child on wednesday, what happened on monday, ask what to anticipate on friday, and so on. Then she has to do certain kinds of planning for what happens on friday and have the children discuss contingencies that may take place. These might be in terms of weather, transportation, alternative discussions, and what have you. But there's a kind of gestalt--a global presentation that's available for the child so the child has some familiar parameters to start bouncing against.

* There's a good deal of work on behavior modification, operant conditioning in classroom management that seem to be quite successful. I would think that teachers ought to know this. They would have to drop the notion that somehow they have been converted to some kind of cult position. They need to know it as a technique available for use.

** You mentioned references.

* Wecker at Illinois, Charlie Madson, Ham, and Baird at the University of Kansas.

* Also people at Stanford have been doing stuff on self-reinforcement

* But that's imitation stuff.

* Not the imitation stuff itself but the children's use of self-reinforcement schedules.

* You could illustrate these too with this business of using performance now measured against performance six weeks ago.

* Particularly if you use video tape and you play it back.

* ..... Marie Hughes business of how many lines you did. There's another principle in motivation and that is, teachers should be very much concerned about avoiding putting their own demanding value schemes against those of the parents. Marie Hughes has been faced with the fact that she's been teaching English to the lower class Mexican population and the Mexicans in that area have been accusing her of neglecting their Mexican culture (although you could never get the parents to complain about this). She has however, done some very clever things. One of them is to have the children go to where fathers are working and go into the neighborhood to investigate characteristics of the neighborhood and so on. They've also used the technic of sending notes home with the kids about the very fortunate things they have done. As a result, the number of Mexican-Americans

who come to the parent-teacher meetings is really very substantial in these schools, whereas in the ordinary schools, almost none of them ever comes.

* *One specific tendency that does result in a good deal of behavior modification, is to take a videotape of a teacher, and then play it back during a seminar. Four fifths of the teachers will say "no, I didn't do that" and furthermore, when you ask what did they do next, they will predict different behavior than what they actually did. When they get back to the classroom, and this is the fascinating bit, they start modifying their behavior.*

* *You mean if the person didn't do what she thought she did, the very focussing on the event led to modification subsequently?*

* *Yes. And then if you stop at various points and you ask; "and what did you do next?" with great frequency, they will predict that they handled the situation in a different way that is closer to the textbooks than to the actuality of their performances.*

* *In other words, you face them with a discrepancy?*

* *Exactly, and then discuss the nature of the discrepancy. Self-correction seems to follow--it's a powerful device.*

** *Can I take it that there's consensus on the idea that teachers should be exposed to a variety of different tactics and strategies so they have a repertoire to chose from?*

* *Yes.*

* *Along with this point of the situational determination of behavior should go with it the lack of predictability of the good and the bad traits in kids. In other words, relay to your trainees the fact that a 'good or bad' child (using psychiatric terminology or moral terminology or any kind of terminology) isn't perpetually so. Such ratings will not predict to a year or two years later in school. The doctrine that children have fixed characters and personalities is wrong. To judge them as characteristically good or bad or so on, meets with severe limits in accuracy. Most teachers seem to have these notions. The longitudinal evidence on personality development indicates that very little predictability of this kind is warranted. Which means primarily that we are concerned with kids the teacher finds as bothersome or bad in some way or another.*

* If you want cross-sectional lack of predictability the old character education investigation of Hartshorn & May gives it.

* There are some things that are consistent though--such as energy level.

* Temperamental things--but not 'good or bad'.

* This means that the teachers may be reading good and bad into things that are temperament and energy. So the kid who can't sit still is more likely to get into confrontation with the teacher, not because he's bad but because something he does bugs her. The apparent consistency in both good or bad then may have its roots in some other characteristic of the child.

* Yes.

* This would mean that teachers should not only learn what to do with children they don't like but also to find out what it is that they don't like in the children.

* Yes.

* ..... essentially it is to learn about themselves, to know what it is that bugs them.

* The point is that the behavior of these kids is very much influenced by situational factors rather than some inherent almost inevitably consistent type of behavior. The teacher should be well aware of the great variation in behavior. There's some research that shows a fantastic variation in aggression within the classroom, in the playground and at home.

* ..... Paterson & Ergen. I think you would want the teacher to know that lower class disadvantaged children are not so homogeneous as we sometimes assume. A lot of other people have shown that within the 'homogeneous' lower class category (deprivation index etc.) there is much differentiation. It would be an easy error for teachers to fall into, which they might not fall into if they were going to a middle class school.

* Let me come back to a point I made this morning. We have a tendency to talk about the lower class as if it were black. Many of the things we have been saying here wouldn't apply to Mexican-American kids whose temperament and response levels in the classroom are quite different.

** But the principle applies, doesn't it--be aware of temperament and response levels?

* Yes, but there's variability that may exist within it.

** O.K.

* There's one point about this idea of the culture of poverty and so on that's relevant. Whose notion is 'value stretch'? Lee Rainwater mentions it--Rodner, Hyman Rodner. Its implication is that the values, and therefore possibly the behaviors, of the lower class overlap with that of the middle class. Middle class values are not rejected but because of the pressures and exigencies of everyday life, they are stretched to accommodate a wider range.

* Could I come in here with one other thing? When you are training teachers, my feeling is that they ought to visit and see what things are being done in their own and other systems--see other teaching models. They ought to see different operations and some of the people who are dealing effectively. They ought to see people like Larry Duncan in the classroom. He's a master at handling, tucking a kid under his arm and carrying on with another thing over here. And he's a master at planning operations for responsive environments too. Then there is the group at Kansas.

* What group at Kansas?

* They're all Skinnerians over there but they're doing things in class.

* John Baier. You ought to see Ham. I haven't seen Ham, I've just heard about him. But what I hear he does is, he gets these adolescents who are problem makers, terrific problem makers, and he's got them in.... they get them out of jail and that sort of thing and they point out that you've got to learn and they use a couple of fellows here playing chess and if he does a certain number of these problems he can go and watch these guys play chess, and watching playing chess is one of the most effective reinforcers they've got. Now who the hell would ever think of that?

* Then there's Richard Brotman, the sociologist who works with drug addicts, alcoholics--very effective.

* The principle that I'm advocating is that if teachers could see these things and see people operating, then they can talk about it.

** O.K. Our plan is to set up a variety of instructional situations so that people can do just what you suggest.

* We're not presuming to know all the answers at the moment.

** And we're seeking out only what appears to be the best information at this point in time.

* Of course the whole business of research and development will have to go on indefinitely. (The idea of the administration closing down on research and development now makes me sick.)

* After so many years of work, it's really tragic.

** There are two other questions that I would like to ask. The first one I think may be dealt with fairly readily because it's been touched on already and that's your response to the Jensen article. Do you think that everything that was needed to be said has been said in the responses that have been made so far?

* By the two gentlemen here you mean, and by the other people.....?

** Right. Is there anything else that needs to be added to the general responses?

* Do you know that Jensen has just published a new formulation of his thinking in the Journal of Educational Psychology. However, though both the basic premises and some of the elaborations may have validity, they're independent of the antecedents.

* I think the only thing I would want to add, ignoring the race difference issue, yes, obviously there's a very strong genetic and environmental determination of individual differences in I.Q.--how high, one doesn't have to go into. But the notion that the I.Q. tests represent the total domain of cognitive and intellectual capacity is one that we would also want to question and.....

* Scientifically, the last word describing the individual's cognitive domain is a long way from being said.

* Jensen's argument is that the genetic loading is the whole story or a substantial part of it.

* Yes, but it isn't so. For instance, you can get disadvantaged kids who are doing quite well on some say, criteria of intelligence but for some reason or another are not doing well on others. It seems to me the teacher should have some sophisticated notions about general cognitive development.

* Well, hell's bells. You know what these things imply otherwise--their inferiority is biological. They can do nothing to overcome it. They're doomed.

* The rigidity that Jensen has put into the thing is just not warranted, and the reaction of the blacks against it and the reaction of those who felt a certain amount of sympathy toward blacks is quite understandable because in a sense, this puts the blacks in a completely impossible position.

* That's a box without any air holes.

* That's right. It's really an air tight cage. Sure there's a genetic factor. There are plenty of genetic bases for individual differences. There's no question about it. But to talk about social class based upon genetic constitution is utter nonsense. There are varied effects of social class, race and the specific deprivational type factors.....

** All right. Thank you. One last question. Throughout we have talked as if the requirement prescribed by the school is fair and reasonable but, you know, the school system itself has its own mystics, rituals and observances. And of course it has the power. I presume that we should not take it as understood that the school should not be subject to changes that will improve the instructional program or the methods used?

* ..... and the content, and the administration system, and the evaluation system, and so on.

* Teacher, may I make one point? May the testing situation be changed, because insofar as you pit child against child in the judgement of the quality of teaching and put individual against individual, you're putting a malfunction into the teaching process.

* You'll put ETS out of business.

* I don't give a damn. Let me reminisce a minute. I used to say to the undergraduates at Brown and the graduate students at Illinois that first of all I was an expositor and I'd be as interesting as I could--I'd do my best on that score. Second, that I was a slave driver and I would give lots of exams and give them frequently because I did not believe that people came with a built in motivation (I was a good Freudian up until 1956 and I would not assume that they had a thirst

for knowledge but I had to put in a drive factor). Well, that meant competitive grades and after every friday quiz, I'd put the percentile ranks down on these scores because we..... I did this for years.

I didn't understand what Hunter was telling me. I really didn't understand when he used to say; "none of you is competing with anybody else. You're only competing against yourself. You're graduate students. Nobody here is going to be tossed out because he doesn't compete. If you can do just the ordinary standard work on the basis of your past record, you deserve a Ph.D." He would make this point and he really meant it. He didn't compare people but I did. I've got to admit that when I go back to teaching a big group of people I still don't quite know how to handle this damned thing. Next year I have to find ways of doing it and I'll try to use some kind of performance measure of intrinsic motivation. This is why I'm looking for defining indices of quality or a level of performance, defining indices that I don't have to use to to compare one individual against another on some damned score.

* Well, that has its problems too, as contrasted with individual type competition.

* Sure, what doesn't?

* You've got to define what your goals are. You have to define and specify what it is you're trying to get the child to learn and then if he learn it, give him an A. I know someone who is doing this in a graduate course in educational psychology. He specified for the semester what he wanted the kids to learn. All of them learned it and he gave them all A's. He was used to the notion that there should be some distribution of grades so we asked him and I remember he said; "look, I set these as the objectives. Everybody reached them. What can I give somebody who has learned everything I asked him to learn?"

* I think teachers need to know that the Binet and the Otis were set up as devices to select out some people, to select out the retardates whom the school couldn't handle. They were not designed for any other purpose than predictive selection and they are very strong in this argument. Otherwise there are teachers who always retreat to tests for individual diagnosis.

* Oh sure.

* Well, the psychologists do.....

* *.....the test which evaluates a child's educational progress is built on the same rationale as the test that's designed to select--some notion of norm. And of course, the whole standard psychometric rationale is based on selection procedures, spreading out the individual differences. That can never provide a procedure for assessing educational inputs or the effectiveness of education or anything like that. You need a different device for that.*

** *Are there any other things that you feel you would like to say at this point?*

* *I want to say that there's a lot left for you to do--and good luck.*

SECTION II

This section contains the greater part of the material abstracted during the literature search. The items are presented alphabetically (by author) according to the following convention. The bibliographical data comes first. Next comes a brief descriptive statement of the nature of the item. Then, under "A", are listed any data supported points, or any points known to be data supportable. Under "B" are listed assertions made in the source material but which appear to be data free. Recommendations made by authors follow, under the "C" heading. Finally, where the abstractor has seen fit, some comments are listed under "D". These mostly indicate what other information is contained in the source item.

It will be remembered that the abstractors were graduate psychologists and their psychology orientation, as we intended, will have influenced their judgements. However, an educational requirement placed on them served to focus their attention also. We required the searchers to base their selection on whether or not they, as psycologists, felt the information before them could be thought to be germane, even remotely germane, to the teacher of urban disadvantaged children. In so far as they thought that there was information here that the teacher, or the trainer of teachers, of disadvantaged children ought to know or appreciate, they were to included it.

Bach, G.R., "Father-fantasies and father-typing in father-separated children," Child Development, 1946, 17, 63-80.

A study of normally adjusted school children, ages 6-10, of average I.Q. from lower middle-class, urban bachground in Cleveland whose fathers were away in Army from 1-3 years.

A.1. When strong emotionally conditioned drives are expressed in fantasy, the percentage of reproductive, reality--simulating fantasies is lowered.
2. The father-absent group
    a. had a preponderance of sterotyped family fantasies about leisure time, and living room recreational activities,
    b. had less aggression fantasy toward whole family and subject child,
    c. father was less often recipient of mother's hostility,
    d. father never seen as in angry mood.
3. Affectionate fantasies for and from the father were higher in father-absent subjects, who had fewer authoritative fantasies.
4. Boys showed more aggressive, girls more affectionate stereotyped responses.
5. Children had ambivalent aggressive-affectionate father fantasies where maternal father-typing was depreciative.

C. Further study of verbal "person typing" of fantasy control and its direct relation to child's personality development.

Bienn, Millard J. "Effects of school integration on the self-concept and anxiety of lower class Negro adolescent males," Dissertation Abstracts, 1968, 29(2-A), 692.

Field research - pre-integration and post-integration test for experimental group. Control group without integration also tested.

A. No significant difference for either measure was found in either group,

D. The direction of the finding which would have been most informative was not given in the abstract. That is, if there were significant changes one way or the other, it would suggest other social variables that would be relevant in "northern Florida" for accounting for any directional change. Previous studies have showed greater anxiety and lower self-concept.

Brislin, Richard W. "Contact as a variable in intergroup interaction," Journal of Social Psychology, 1968, 76(2), 149-154.

A. Greater interaction between ethnic groups where people know language belonging to each other's group.

C. If Negro English constitutes another language, it may be advantageous to teach courses in "nonstandard" Negro English to whites.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. "The psychological cost of quality and equality in education," Child Development, 1967, 58(4), 909-925.

Review of research on disadvantaged children, particularly Negro boys.

A.1. Inadequate nutrition and prenatal conditions in Negro mothers:
   a. increase complications in pregnancy,
   b. produce neurological damage and impaired intellectual behavioral performance, (more frequently male),
   c. may lead to hyperactivity, distractibility, low attention span; thus, specific social-psychological and educational problems.

Other factors discussed are paternal absences, gang influences, economic status, lack of early educational stimuli; alternating repressive indulgent patterns of child-rearing, negative reinforcement on self-concept and cognitive development, slavery residues of oppression, compliance, bondage, poverty, low achievement, and discrimination. Also, white peer may become aggressive and disruptive through contagion process.

C.1. More male teachers needed at elementary levels, probably more Negro male teachers.
2. More after school cross-status child participation programs by adult males and selected high school students possessing diverse skills and community contacts of nontechnical nature at levels attractive to lower class children.
3. Involve child's parents in programs, work together on mutual goals.
4. Recognize inability to repay back difficiencies to present disadvantaged, but assume more of an educational obligation, social responsibility as integral part of democratic education.

Brown, Robert G. "A comparison of the vocational aspirations of paired sixth grade white and Negro children who attend segregated schools," Journal of Educational Research, 1965, 58(9), 402-404.

Investigation of the vocational aspirations of two similar socio-economic and intelligence groups of 6th grade children of Negro-white races in segregated schools of rural, central Florida.

A.1. Negro children's occupational choices ranked higher than the whites.
2. Both groups' ambitions were higher than occupations held by their fathers.
3. The Negro group's proportional aspirational level in comparison with father's occupation was larger than white students.
4. Self-concept is closed related to motivation.
5. Peer strivings and pressures are correlated positively with children's academic efficiency.
6. Vocational aspiration as part of self-concept indicates how a student sees himself in the future and his present potential.

C.1. Study self-concept formation.
2. Peer dynamics effects on vocational aspiration.
3. To be more effective teachers should know students' personalities and pressures acting on them.

Cameron, Howard K. "A proposal for the study of emotional overdependency among Negro youth", J.L. Philbrick (ed.), Contemporary Studies in social psychology and behavior change, 183-194.

Exhortation challenging the notion of emotional overdependency in Negro youth on grounds that no systematic empirical investigation has validated such a belief.

D. Data on the nature and development of overdependency are presented.

Carpenter, Virginia F. Motivational components of achievement in culturally disadvantaged Negro children. Dissertion Abstracts, 1968, 28(10-A), 3991-3992.

Examination of achievement motivation and expectancy for internal/external control of reinforcement in culturally disadvantaged.

A.1. Need for achievement was related to the risk-taking choices of 5th and 6th graders in sample, but not related to risk taking behaviors.
2. Need for achievement was more predictable in boys on skill performance while internal-external control related to academic skill for girls only.

Clark, Edward A. and K.F. Misa. "Peers' perception of Negro and white occupational preferences." Personnel Guidance Journal, 1967, 46(3), 288-291.

Examines the congruence between elementary children's placement of classmates in occupational roles and the latter's expressed occupational preferences. Do Negro and white children differ in their occupational preferences and peer-placed roles?

A.1. A greater number of boys expressing preferences for professions and aggressively oriented occupations were cast in comparable occupation roles.
2. In contrast, girls expressing preferences for teaching and nursing were not cast in these roles by their peers.
3. Negro boys expressing preference for professional occupations were cast by peers in these roles more than white boys with similar preferences.
4. There was no difference between Negro and white children on peer placement in other occupational roles.
5. Pre-adolescent boys and girls perceive teaching and nursing as equivalent feminine roles suitable for all female peers.
6. The occupational image (in this sample) projected by professionally aspiring white boys.

Clark, Kenneth B. and M.K. Clark. "The development of consciousness of self and the emergence of racial identification in Negro preschool children," Journal of Social Psychology, 1938, 10(4), 591-599.

Investigation into early levels of development of consciousness of self in Negro preschoolers with reference to emergent race consciousness in segregated Washington, D.C. nursery schools.

A.1. All children chose the Negro picture slightly more than the white picture.
2. But differences between choices of Negro and white boys increased with age because of increasing Negro picture selection by Negro children.
3. There is a definite delimitation of the self by children between ages 3 and 4 as a distinct person as a precursory development to one racial group identification.
4. Some children at age five refused to identify themselves with one over another picture and displayed some anxiety and conflict.
5. Dynamics of identifying a brother or cousin by girl subjects appeared different from those involved in self-identification.

Clark, K.B. and M. Clark. "Emotional factors in racial identification and preference in Negro children," Journal of Negro Education, 1950, 19, 341-350.

Analysis of dynamics of racial attitudes in Negro children ages 5, 6, and 7.

A.1. With exception of escape responses, children colored themselves lighter than own skin color.
2. With increase in age, more subjects made correct racial (skin color) identifications, and fantasy and escape responses decreased.
3. No difference between Northern and Southern children on self identification.
4. But Northern children preferred white color more than Southern children who preferred brown.
5. More bizarre or escape responses were noted in Northern subjects.
6. Southern children were more able to talk about and explain their color preferences.
7. Escapist response in color preference was most marked in Northern children, at age 5, but appeared throughout the sample.
8. Rejection of brown for white color is highest in dark children, but also appears across colors and ages.
9. Yet, in making self-identification, few color themselves white and escapist responses disappear at age 7.
10. Coincident with awareness of racial differences and identity is awareness and acceptance of prevalent cultural attitudes and racial values.
11. By age 5 Negro child is aware of his inferior societal status.

C.1. Discrepancy between color preference and skin self-identification in core of young students' personality requires both a mental hygiene and positively self-supportive educational program to alleviate feelings of inadequacy and inferiority.

Clark, K.B. and M.K. Clark. "Skin color as a factor in racial identification of Negro preschool children," Journal of Social Psychology, 1940, 11(2), 159-169.

Examines genesis of racial identification in terms of developing self-consciousness and social determinants, in relation to skin color in preschoolers.

A.1. Consistent increases in choices for the colored boy picture were found for light to medium colored and light to dark subjects.
2. A decreasing pattern was shown for choices of the white picture.
3. Light group chose white boy picture most.
4. Medium group chose colored boy picture most.
5. Dark group chose colored boy picture more often.
6. Thus, light and dark extremes in subject skin color appeared to result in earlier choice and identification to similar light or dark colored picture with medium colored subjects showing a tendency to vacillate and delay consistent picture choice.
7. Skin color is a determinant of self-identification.
8. "Wishful thinking" notions of self-identification appear too abstract rational for these apparent concrete skin preference--skin type matching processes in young children.
9. Identification is in terms of what one is, rather than "what one is not" or any developed social concepts of race may modify these beginnings later in development.

C.1. Study intelligence and concepts of "self difference" as self determinants.

Corwise, Joseph L. Aspirations and attitudes toward education of over- and under-achieving Negro junior high school students. Dissertation Abstracts, 1968, 28(9-A), 3878.

Examines differences between over- and under-achievers at different ability levels in terms of educational aspirations, and student-parent attitudes.

A.1. Gains in ability level were followed by gains in attitude scores with over-achievers scoring higher than under-achievers.
2. Parents of over-achievers had higher attitude scores than under-achievers' parents.
3. Aspirations of over-achievers, high ability and positive attitude students were more positive toward education.
4. Educational aspirations of a sample of 105 Negroes within a low socioeconomic setting are as high as dominant culture.
5. Adademic Achievement is influenced by attitude toward education.
6. Under-achievement is primarily a male problem.
7. Attitudes of students have more influence than parental attitudes on student achievement.

Council of the SPSSI (Martin Deutsch, President). "Racial factors in intelligence - a rebuttal," Trans-Action, June 1969, pp. 6 and 75.

Rebuttal of Arthur R. Jensen's article "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" in the Winter issue of Harvard Educational Review.

A number of Jensen's key assumptions and conclusions are seriously questioned by many psychologists and geneticists.

A.1. Jensen's employed a social definition of race rather than the more rigorous genetic definition.
2. The major failure of so-called compensatory education has been in the planning, size, and scope of the program rather than hereditary "road blocks."
3. There are critical limitations in present day intelligence tests; they tend to be biased against black children to unknown degree.
D. The importance of this article for the teacher of the underprivileged is quite obvious.

Cowen, E.L., Landes and D.E. Schaet, "The effects of mild frustration on the expression of prejudiced attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1958, 58, 33-38.

Examines use of scapegoat theory of prejudice as one of a series of complementary explanatory principles by studying whether or not an increased verbal expression of prejedice follows frustration in psychology undergraduates.

A.1. Increased anti-Negro feelings followed experimental induction of frustration.
2. Males showed greater prejudice and increases in prejudice following frustration than females.
3. In the absence of non-arbitrary frustration and with an opportunity for self-punitive behavior, a scapegoat theory seemed supported.
4. Negroes appeared to be "targeted" and draw more prejudice than scales measuring other forms of prejudicial expression.
5. The thresholds for anti-Negro prejudice may be lower than for other minority groups, a "preferred form" of prejudice augmented by frustration.

Cunningham, Sister Madonna Marie. "Training in concept learning with schizophrenic and nonschizophrenic culturally disadvantaged adults," Dissertion Abstracts, 1968, 29(2-B), 767-768.

A research comparison of training groups to control with disadvantaged and schizophrenic S's in both groups. Three training groups sorted objects, pictures, and words respectively.

A.1. Both groups improved in concept formation casting doubt on Ausubel's notion that conceptual deficit in adult deprived group is irreversible as well as long accepted attitudes toward schizophrenics who form more of a nonverbal population.

C 1 With such information, the teacher of the disadvantaged would be less susceptible to presenting an unconscious or subtle self-fulfilling prophecy syndrome in her classes.

Deane, Paul C. "The persistence of Uncle Tom: an examination of the image of the Negro in children's fiction series,: Journal of Negro Education, 1968, 37(2), 140-45.

Exploration of Negro image in children's literature.

A.1. The Negro is presented in children's series as never bad, so never really good.
2. He is never allowed to become a "real character" or person, but remains a stereotype or century-old cliche.
3. Thus, children may become prejudiced unintentionally through this stereotyping.
4. These first contacts with Negro imagery may have more profound and lasting effects, than any later actual contacts or social relationships.

C.1. Go beyond removing Negro dialect to improve and change traditional stereotypes for realistic, human portraits of negroes in children's books.

Deutsch, Cynthia P. "Environment and Perception" in M. Deutsch, I. Katz and A.P. Jensen (eds.), Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development, Holt: New York 1968, (especially pages 74-83).

Reviews a number of students concerning stimulus deprivation and stimulus enrichment as a function of social class.

A.1. Basic findings show lower class children have an initial disadvantage in perceptual discrimination tasks.
2. Early exposure and labelling of various stimulus modalities (which goes on more in the middle class home) is very important in aiding perceptual retention and discrimination.

C.1. Suggestions are given for new programs focusing on providing appropriate stimulus exposure and re-training children to attend to the aspects of stimuli that are relevant for discrimination.

D.1. The importance of the learning of such perceptual discrimination is exemplified in the Piagetian concept of intelligence - to see similarities in one's environment where they weren't apparent before - also a requisite for creativity.

Dunmore, Charlotte Jeanette. "Social-Psychological Factors Affecting the use of an educational opportunity program by families living in a poverty area." Dissertation Abstracts, 1968, 29(1-A), 342.

Acceptors of a voluntary educational opportunity program were were compared with non-acceptors along psychosocial factors, and socio-economic status. The "culture of poverty" thesis was also tested.

A.1. Variables that correlated with non-acceptance were those relating to communication between the school and the family

regarding programs rather than S-P or S-E variables.
2. "Culture of poverty" thesis not supported.
3. Poor families *were* involved in organized community activities. Majority-registered voters and reported voting in last election.
4. No feelings of fatalism and helplessness expressed.
5. Held expectations that their children would succeed in life.
6. Majority of poor families were self-supporting 65% of bread-winners were employed in either skilled or technical occupation.
7. Bussing was not a deterrent of acceptance.

C. Improvement in communication network linking school system to poverty area families.

Epstein, Ralph and S.S. Komorita. "Prejudice among Negro children as related to parental ethnocentrism and punitiveness," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1966, 4(6), 643-647.

Examines relationship of parental punitiveness and perceptions of parental social attitudes to elementary age Negro children's social distance attitudes, particularly high parental ethnocentrism and moderate punitiveness.

A.1. Negro subjects displayed more social distance toward the Negro race.
2. Correlated highly with perception of parental prejudice and child's generalized social distance or response set to other minority groups.
3. Prejudicial or self-rejecting attitudes reflect a generalized hostile predisposition or set of habits elicited by both in and out groups.
4. For white subjects social distance attitudes towards Negroes may be determined by the group's perceived inferior social status.
5. The Negro child's low self-esteem appears based on a racial (skin color) class factor. Thus, relating majority group hostility to one's skin color, consequently an external, negative reinforcement attributed to chance, fate or forces beyond personal control.

C.1. More research on attitude formation of ethnic minority groups.
2. Research on prejudiced children attributing prejudicial attributes to parents.

Forbes, Jack D. "Segregation and integration: the multi-ethnic or uni-ethnic school," *Phylon*, 30(1), 1969, pp. 34-42.

B. The record of several generations of non-white pupils attending integrated schools controlled by whites suggests that such schools, unless they possess a *multi-cultural* orientation, may in some cases be no better than segregated schools controlled by whites and possibly may be inferior to minority-controlled separate schools.

Fox, Louise W. "The effect of variation in the measurement of tactual-visual reciprocity on its relationship to achievement and intelligence," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28 (6A) 1704.

Verification of high correlations between Leonard Buchner's Tactual-Visual Matching Test, achievement, intelligence on fifth grade Central Harlem students.

A.1. Correlations between I.Q. and achievement were found.
2. But reduced association with Buchner's study on reading and arithmetic.
3. Even less association with verbal, nonverbal I.Q.
4. Weak support for TVMT and achievement.
5. No support for I.Q.
6. Both high and low achievers were able to image, but high achievers were better able to image.
C.1. General area of tactual-visual transfer merits further study.
2. But the TVMT does not warrent continued use.

Fuchs, Estelle. "How Teachers learn to help children fail," Trans-Action. pp. 45-49, September, 1968.

Presents a case study of a new teacher in New York City slum school. Case similar to 13 other new teachers from Hunter College Project - TRUE (Teacher Resources for Urban Education).

B.1. Describes the process of well intentioned teachers becoming socialized by the ghetto school system.
2. This socialization perpetuates the attitude that social conditions outside the school make failure inevitable.
3. Which conveniently takes any responsibility for the student's failure away from the teacher and the school.
D. Very pertinent article for teachers.

Gordon, John E. "The effects on white student teachers of value clarification interviews with Negro pupils," Dissertation Abstracts, 1966, 27(2-A), 406.

Experimental study. Student teachers' empathy and understanding were measured prior and subsequent to two other conditions besides value clarification interview condition.

A.1. Significant differences were found in feeling of reduced social distance between ST's and Negro students in interview condition.

Gordon, Leonard. "An acculturation analysis of Negro and white high school students: the effects on social and academic behavior of initial close interracial association at the secondary school level," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(9-A), 2641.

A study of acculturation of negro and white students in high school program of Oak Park, Michigan desegregated in 1961.

A.1. Negro students participated in fewer extra-curricular activities and held fewer leadership positions beyond varsity athletics.

2. Negroes showed less self-preference of friends and leaders than white students.
3. Negroes showed more initiative than in earlier studies.
4. White catholic and Jewish students selected Negroes more than white protestant students.
5. More social inter-action between Negro and white male students than Negro and white females.
6. White student academic achievement continued at same school level prior to and after desegregation.
7. Wide differences remained between low-achieving Negroes and high achieving whites, but less so for male Negroes.
8. Negro students' academic achievement and career goals showed an upward trend.

Gottlieb, David and Charles E. Ramsey, "Deprivation in the classroom and the school," Understanding Children of Poverty SRA, 1967, Chicago: pp. 55-65.

Review of research and discussion.

B.1. Teachers who come out of the slum may deliberately seek the education of poor children but may make the mistake of being too hard on them in an effort to drive them into seeking status themselves.

2. Truency often overlooked by principals and social workers in order to keep the school qualified for state aid effects public objection to state aid for dependent families created by publicity of truency rate respectively. There is a number of days of school attendance required in order to qualify the parents of lower class children for "aid to dependant children."

Gottlieb, David and Charles E. Ramsey, "School performance and deprivation," Understanding Children of Poverty SRA, 1967, Chicago: pp. 38-52.

Review of research and discussion.

A,1. Scholastic achievement is not an explicit "group" goal in either the predominately middle class or lower class high school. (It does have greater value in middle class schools, however.)

2. Relative deprivation is even more pronounced for the lower class student in the predominantly middle class school and could lead to greater detrimental effects in some cases.

3. Besides academic underachievement he would experience more social isolation and indirect rejection.

Greenwald, Herbert J., and Oppenheim, Don B. "Reported magnitude of self-misidentification among Negro children. Artifact?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 811, p.(1), 49-52.

Research - methodological change from previous racial doll studies (inclusion of an intermediate - mulatto alternative).

A.1. Change reduced children's misunderstanding.
  2. No significant difference in white and Negro children's misidentification.
B. Early identification may not be quite as detrimental as was once thought. Yet this study should not negate emphasis on teachers' diminishing negative connotations that have been shown to be very effective in relation to race from other studies.

Gregor, A.J. and B.A. McPherson. "Racial preference and ego identity among white and Bantu children in the Republic of South Africa," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1966, 73(2), 217-253.

Study racial preferences and ego-ideals of Bantu and white South African children (ages 5 to 7) including rural and urban differences.

A.1. Rural Bantu showed
    a. greater outgroup preference than urban Bantu,
    b. a higher rate of same race (brown doll) identification,
    c. a much greater ability to identify self with brown doll.
  2. All Bantus and whites exhibited similar degrees of preference for the white doll.
  3. Female Bantu were more emphatically outgroup oriented than male.
  4. White children in South Africa displayed beginnings of viable ego-identity by preference for and identification with group shared color trait, and group standards without signs of intrapsychic tension.
  5. Bantu children were quite different in their outgroup preference and marked ingroup hostility consistent with the U.S. Negro and generating considerable self-conflict.
  6. The urban Bantu displayed the most severe identity confusion and loss of self-esteem increasing in direct proportion to white and urban contacts, particularly at early stage of personality formation.
C. Explore relationships between and implications of urban Bantu's identification with an "unattainable ego-ideal" as presented by a dominant white culture.

Hamblin, Robert T. and Associates. "Changing the Game from 'Get the Teacher' to 'Learn'" Trans-action, 6(3), January, 1969.

Research into use of new reinforcement techniques on aggressive, autistic and disadvantaged children.

A.1. The more problematic the child, the greater may be the effect of token exchange on his behavior.
  2. For the young, social approval is important but not nearly so powerful as material reinforcers.
  3. To be affective, rewards must occur in a structured exchange in which they are given promptly as recompense.
  4. Token exchange increased verbalization* ([illegible]), and decreased class disruption in disadvantaged ghetto children.
  5. Token exchange brings 2 year olds up to level of 5 year olds in reading ability.

6. With token exchange several autistic children, who were either mute or could only parrot sounds have developed functional speed, and have lost their bizarre and disruptive behavior patterns.

C. A very informative article whose value is inherent in the result. To those who have an ingrained aversion to external reinforcers such as tokens: For children to appreciate the fruits of symbols on a page and their abstract relation to the world of things and before they can be socially rewarded for such appreciation they must first be exposed to such experiences under conditions which are already pleasant for them.

* (they spoke in complete sentences, used better syntax, and frequently started conversation.)

Harris, Helena. "The development of moral attitudes in white and Negro boys," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28(6B), 2624.

Examination of attitudes of white and Negro boys in four social class levels and relationships to intelligence, ages 9-11, in New York City.

A.1. Maturity of moral attitudes were related to race, class, intelligence, but differing among subtests.
2. Negroes tested on verbal intelligence were lower than whites, but intelligence correlated positively with moral attitude.
3. Social class slightly more crucial than race for moral attitudes.
4. Viewed separately social class had less influence on Negro than on white children's attitudes.

C. Further study of social class differentiations among Negroes. On what basis are Negro class distinctions made? How consistently do they relate to specific moral attitudes?

Henderson, George. "Role models for lower class Negro boys," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1967, 46(2), 6-10.

Author examines lower class child's orientation or identification with middle class adults beyond lower-class, Negro, adult models and narrow occupational choices.

B.1. Negro child must deal with six focal community problems--trouble, toughness, smartness, excitement, fate, autonomy for survival and status reasons.
2. Low motivated, lower-class students will not increase aspirations after first successes, nor will high motivated students increase their aspiration after initial middle-class task failures.
3. Job competency, student empathy, and masculinity more important male occupational traits than race.

C.1. Need for more Negro and white adults to become occupational role models for lower class negro students.
2. Middle-class models should adopt attitude of "cultural relativism" and reference group specificity.
3. "Middle-classness" must be meaningful and possible.

4. Models should emphasize values of dominant group and non-trouble, novel activities.
5. Models need to convince lower-class child of his ability to control himself and means-ends possibilities.
6 .Model should understand child's alienation and desire for acceptance without relinquishing needed autonom-.
7. Adult models should be prepared for periodic aspirational relapse by lower-class students.
8. Every male teacher should be a role model for disadvantaged Negro boys

Hess, Robert D. and V. C. Shipman. "Early experience and the socialization of cognitive modes in children," Child Development, 1965, 36(4), 869-886.

Authors examine cultural deprivation's effect on human cognition in terms of behavior, meaning, language, and personal development in 160 Negro mothers and their 4 year old children from 4 different social status levels.

A.I. Middle class mothers presented greater verbal output, more abstraction, more complex syntactical structures, thus more elaborated code.

2. Middle class highest group on descriptive, categorical sorting; lower class on relational sorting.

3. Relative absence of descriptive part-whole responses for lower class and rise in nonverbal responses in lower classes.

4. Middle class children performed better on sorting tasks and offering verbal explanations for each sort.

5. Similar differences by status in mothers' ability to regulate her own behavior and child's in tasks requiring planning, care rather than verbal conceptual skill, little affective differences were noted.

B.I. Lower class mothers appeared to not relate particular acts to preceding ones or their consequences, thus lacking sequential meaning in context, motivation of subjects or task goals and antiipatory, reflective alternate decision making modes.

2. Restricted speech and status over person orientations foreclosed evaluative, choice cognitions and performance.

C. Further analyses of mother-child transactions beyond gross social class categories.

Hicks, Robert A. and Robert J. Pellegrini. "The meaningfulness of Negro-white differences in intelligence test performance," Psychological Record, 1966, 16(1), 43-46.

Research - A statistic, designed to measure meaningfulness, was used to reevaluate the data given in studies of Negro-white IQ.

A. The results showed that although these tests are reliable they they are not valid, i.e., they are measuring cultural rather than individual propensity. Hence, these studies have failed to establish the existence of differences in intelligence that have utility for guidance.

Hoover, Herbert A. "Selected culturally deprived students' views of their public secondary school experience," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(10A), 3259.

A study of how culturally deprived Negro students, senior high school students taught by investigator in fifth-grade in East St. Louis, viewed their high school experience (four high schools) and teachers.

A.1. Fifty-five percent stated high school experience was pleasant and prepared them for college and/or job.
2. Approximately fifty percent of the pupil-teacher relationships were poor.
3. Students rates sixty-one percent of their teachers 'effective and interested in students'.

Horowitz, Ruth E. "Racial aspects of self-identification in nursery school children", Journal of Psychology, 1939, 7, 91-99.

A study of attitude formation and functioning, particularly emergent self-awareness in reference to specific social groupings or race-consciousness as a function of ego-delveopment.

A.1. Identification with correct (same races) picture indicates awareness of one's own skin color.
2. Ability to identify one's self as different from others and like others, forms basis for later group feeling.
3. Negro boys identified themselves as white when no choice was available beyond one selection.
4. In choice situation, Negroes evidenced knowledge of differences and matched self correctly.
5. However, the Negro boys matched themselves with white boys when free to do so.
6. Some children tended to identify themselves by other than skin color when situation permitted.

C.1. Study alternative explanations of
   a. desire to share in self-hood of others without (beyond) color differences
   b. definition of self by a delimiting process of what 'one is not', as result of earlier minority family influences, conflicts in self-identity acceptance, constriction of self-image choices.
2. Study early influences of group consciousness and identification on ego-development and attitude formation.

Iscoe, Ira, M. Williams and J. Harvey. "Age, intelligence, and sex as variables in the conformity behavior of Negro and white children", Child-Development, 1964, 35 (2).

Negro and white urban children were subjected to simulated group pressures.

A. Negro females were less conforming than white females (males more alike).

B.1. Negro girl can get away with more nonconformity and competitive behavior than white girl in own racial milieu and in contacts with different racial groups.
2. The importance of adequate measures of "initial competency" prior to evaluation of social variables was stressed.

Jensen, Arthur R., "Social class and verbal training," in M. Deutsch et al (Ed) Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development, Holt 1968, New York: pp. 115-174.

Shaping of speech and auditory discrimination facilitates enhanced language aquisition when there is fewer adult-child relationship in early years of a child as in the average middle-class home compared to the average lower-class home.

A.1. In the typical lower-class home there is reportedly less verbal play, less verbal interaction, and less reinforcing behavior on the part of the adults of the household in response to the child's early vocalizations.
2. In lower-class families with a number of children who were born closely spaced and hence spend more time in the company of their verbal peers, receive less verbal attention from the mother creating predictable results along the lines indicated above.
3. Spoken language among the lower class is less like written language syntactically, grammatically, and in over-all sequential organization and logical progression than is the case among middle class. Hence, less positive transfer to language of books and journals.
4. Lower class language consists of incidental "emotional" accompaniment to action here and now.
5. Earlier acquisition of stimulus-verbal-response learning in middle class children facilitates subsequent discrimination between similar but different stimuli such as a mule and a horse (Luria and Yudovich, 1959, 1961a, 1961b)
6. Middle class children can perform quite well under conditions where the only reinforcement or feedback is simple knowledge of results, while lower class children need reinforcement consisting of tangible rewards. (Terrell (1958); Terrell, Durkin and Wiesley (1957)
7. Semantic generalization as opposed to primary generalization (i.e. sky eliciting the same response that blue does representing the latter) would seem to be more prominent earlier in other developmental continuum of S-R to S-V-R behavior in the middle class child compared to the lower class child (Rayron, 1961)
8. The phenomenon of transposition (relational learning) seems to require a verbal mediator (Sterenson and Lascoe, 1934). This would also show up in the class differences.
9. Word association tests are a powerful tool for exposing class differences since a person's verbal associative network plays an important role in terms of transfer and mediation in all forms of verbal learning, problem solving, and conceptual

thinking. They reflect quality and structure of one's verbal environment and developmental trends in language behavior. e.g. (Vera John, I963).

IO. Syntactical mediation very important in increasing rate of paired associative learning . Recent research in Negro English could explain lower Negro performance rates in a standard English dominated educational system.

II. The ratio of a subject's scaled score in paired-associate learning to his scaled score in serial learning (PA/Sr) could provide an index of the degree of development of the S's mediational tendency in relation to his basic learning ability.

Justice, David B. "An inquiry in Negro identity and a methodology for investigating potential racial violence I & II" Dissertation Abstracts, I966, 27(6-A) I927.

"In-depth interview" and recordings of "natural (street) dialogue" of I60 low-SES Negroes. Analysis by method based on a premise that seems plausible but no previous research is used to support it in the study.

A. Three factors measured
  I. Mobility - Number of moves made as a child
  2. Anomie - degree of family fragmentation in childhood
  3. Complexity - shifts from rural to urban environments.
  The relationship of combined MAC factors to the sanctioning of racial violence was found to be significant at .0I level.

C. The same methodology could be used for gauging unrest and potential conflict in the schools and classroom.

Kagen, Jerome, L. Person and L. Welch, "Modifiability of an impulsive tempo," Journal of Educational Psychology, I966,57,359-365

Authors examine efforts to train impulsive first grade children to be more reflective under a nurturant condition between child and tutor and a condition in which child was persuaded to believe he shared some attributes with the tutor and by reflecting could increase the pool of shared characteristics.

A.I. The only important effect of training was to lengthen the response times to that of normal reflectives, but less effect on quality of performance.

2. Effects of high or low perceived similarity during training were more dramatic for girls than boys, but female evaluations were used exclusively.

3. Thus, 60 minutes training in delay produced larger response latencies among impulsive children, but did not have a strong effect on error scores, nor did it generalize to the inductive reasoning test.

C. Further study of psychological significance of perceived similarity between tutor and tutee.

Kandell, Alice Susan. "Harlem Children's Stories: A study of Expectation of Negro and Puerto Rican Boys in Two Reading-Level Groups." Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28, (6-A) 2338 (Order No. 67-16,117) Havard University.

Research - projective test technique & direct questionaire with 30 Negro & Puerto Rican Harlem boys. Groups were split into 15 high and 15 low achievers each, based on METROPOLITAN READING TEST.

A.1. Negro children, regardless of reading levels, typically described in their stories failure in school, punishment from mothers and teacher, tension in the family and danger in the environment.
2. Puerto Rican children expressed clear cut expectations of mastery, of rewards and encouragement from the teacher and parents, and of acceptance and support from the environment.
3. Other expressive statements of emotional and motivational condition of Negro children and Puerto Rican.
    a. resignation and apathy
    b. accompanying themes of fear of punishment
    c. feelings of alienation and personal damage.
    expressed confidence in their ability to achieve mastery through diligence.
    optimistic view of environment
    sense of independence.
4. High-achieving Negro boys appeared to have more positive expectations in terms of mastery when they were free of the school milieu.

Katz, Daniel and K. Braly, "Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1933, 28. 280-290.

An examination of the view that attitudes toward racial, national groups are in part attitudes toward race names, or sterotypes of a cultural pattern, not based upon animosity toward a group member because of actual qualities in him. Thus, a differentiation is made between this "public" pattern and one's "private" attitudes.

A.1. German traits were consistent with the popular stereotype ("scientifically minded"), Italians ("artistic"), Negroes ("superstitious") ("laziness") - Irish ("pugnacity"), English ("sportsmanship"), Jews ("shrewdness"), Americans ("industry") ("intelligence").
2. The most definite picture was for Negroes.
3. Fictions about social class, professions, political organizations develop in a similiar manner of matching preconceptions and rationalizing away stereotype exceptions.
4. Definitions did not seem consistently related to prejudice exhibited against race since Negroes and Turks (high prejudiced-against groups) were on opposite poles on definiteness ideas.

B.I. People have a vague idea of characteristics of a race and yet show extreme prejudice toward that group as part of a public attitude toward a race name or symbol.
2. However, prejudice plus a highly consistent picture of the group may be the result of public or private attitude, or combination of both.

Katz, J., and M. Cohen "The effect of training Negroes upon co-operative problem solving in biracial teams." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 64, 319-325.

Research - laboratory.

A.I. Attempts at modifying Negro behavior toward the direction of greater assertiveness and autonomy were successful.
C. Highly beneficial for teacher use in interracial classrooms.

Katz, Phyllis A. "Role of irrelevant cues in the formation of concepts by lower-class children," Journal of Educational Psychology, 1968, 59(4), 233-238.

Assesses differences in concept formation abilities of lower-class, male, Negro children in 1st, 3rd, 5th gades in Harlem.

A.I. Brighter and older children made more correct responses on the four types of stimulus cues.
2. Level of stimulus complexity indicating addition of irrelevant cues increased the difficulty of the concept problem for these students over low grade and IQ subjects.
B.I. Proficiency in concept formation is related to developmentsl level in children both age and IQ minimizing memory, stimulus familiarity and verbal label availability.
2. Irrelevant stimulus information is related to concept problem difficulty in children.
3. Number of correct responses was inversely related to level of stimulus complexity at each age level tested
4. Fifth grade, high IQ students displayed increased reaction times with additional irrelevant cues approximately an adult group, while low IQ, 1st grade children's reaction time decreased.
5. Thus, increased reaction time may indicate increased processing ability-reflective modes with complex stimuli tasks. No differences in cues changed above findings.
C.I. Study the possibility of availability of certain stimulus cues over others as obscuring any basic development differences.

Katy, Irwin, "Some motivational determinants of racial differences in intellectual achievement, "International Journal of Psychology, 1967, 2(1), 1-12.

A. Motivational studies of conditions that affect hope for success, kinds of social reinforcement as these affect achievement, and attitudes related to achievement - achievement gap existing between White and Negro students.

Kelly, F. J. and D. J. Veldman, "Delinquency and school dropout behavior as a function of impulsivity and non-dominant values, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1964, 69, 190-194.

Authors examine over and above social class membership, delinquent and school dropout behaviors as a function of lack of impulse control and non-dominant value orientation prior to acting-out of defined behaviors in 7th grade boys in 4 Texas communities.

A.I. Deviants are more impulsive than non-deviants expressed prior to actual acting-out behavior.
2. Differences were found between middle-class deviants and dropouts suggesting
  a. middle-class delinquents have more mental ability than middle-class dropouts and/or
  b. middle-class delinquents lack of impulse control and "intelligence" are unrelated.
B.I. Apparently, (given minor differences) severity of deviation (delinquency more severe than dropping out) is unrelated to reported value system or impulse control.
C.I. Study context's contribution, i.e. behavioral impulsivity may produce dropouts and delinquents.
2. Deviants may maintain dominant values, but lack of impulse control prevents their attaining socially valued goals in acceptable ways, thus, need more study of values.

King, Edith W. "A multi-dimensional study of perceptual sets of kindergarten children from two urban sub-cultures," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(8A), 2396.

Study of kindergartens of two diverse, sub-cultural, urban groups - lower class Negro and middle class white, Jewish in Oak Park, Michigan.

A.I. Differences were obtained for color preferences in design, "mentioned clothing worn" for assessing awareness of sex, and wide variations in language patterns and verbal skills.
2. Lower class Negroes displayed fewer language patterns, less extensive vocabulary, less effective oral communication.
B.I. Two groups did not vary much on specific perceptual stimuli presented, yet differed in oral language expression of perceptual effects.
2. Differences in capacities for elaborating perceptions into concepts pointed to the tie between language and consequent thinking.

Kinnick, Bernard C., & Platter, S. D. Attitudinal change toward Negroes and school desegregation among participants in a summer training institute. Journal of Social Psychology, 1967, 73(2), 271-283.

A measure of changes in attitude of participants in graduate institute concerning school desegregation and culturally disadvantaged student . Negro leaders instructed white, Southern participants.

A.1. Training institute reduced authoritarian and ethnocentric attitudes for more favorable ones toward Negroes and school desegregation.
2. Overtly expressed need and behavior for reevaluation of attitudes contributed to increasing favorable attitudes, yet did not effect attitudes toward other minorities.
3. Positive relationship between segregationist attitudes, authoritarianism, ethnocentrism.
B.1. If unanimity of group attitudes are broken up, positive changes can occur.

Klein, Robert S. "A comparative study of the academic achievement of Negro 10th grade high school students attending segregated and recently integrated schools in a metropolitan area of the south," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28(6B), 2608-2609.

Examines effects of moving from a segregated, all Negro school to an integrated school upon academic achievement of Negro student.

A.1. Academic achievement of matched groups of integrated and segregated Negroes, matched whites, or segregated Negroes and integrated whites did not differ significantly.
2. Academic achievement of integrated Negroes was greater in specific subject areas over the unmatched groups of segregated Negroes.
3. Same difference was found between matched segregated Negroes and the unmatched segregated Negroes.
B.1. Previous studies using unmatched groups find no positive academic gains for integrated schools, this study did find positive differences using matched groups.
2. The socio-economic class and family background of a student exerted more influence upon scholastic achievement than school attended by Negro student.

Kofsky, Ellin. "The effect of verbal training on concept identification in disadvantaged children," Psychonomic Science, 1967, 7(10), 365-366.

A. Training disadvantaged children in labelling and discriminating component stimulus attributes resulted in greater attention to these attributes in inductive concept attainment, but in no greater success in solving concept tasks.

Kohlwes, Garry F. "Sex and race differences in the development of underprivileged preschool schildren," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(8A), 2397-2398.

Determines whether disadvantaged Negro and Caucasian preschoolers differ in social, cognitive, perceptual, psychological development and develop an index of group functioning levels in various performance areas. Sample of 368 Headstart children in Portland, Oregon.

A.I . Males more hyperactive than females.
2. Females display more thumb-sucking.
3. In area of concept development, females better in naming colors and in number concept.
4. Females display more appropriate social behavior, higher IQ score.
5. White children were more often interested in only one or two objects or activities than Negro children.
6. Negroes better on physical coordination tasks, sensory perception.
7. Female white children are less disruptive and better able to remain seated than Negro-white males.
8. Female Negroes stammer and stutter less than white males.
9. Boys rated happier than female white child.
IO. Female Negroes had more difficulty interacting with strangers than white males.
II. Female Negroes more disturbing, disruptive than female whites.
I2. Female Negroes were more lethargic, apathetic, display less energy, drive than male whites.

Kohn, Melvin L. and Robin M. Williams Jr. "Situational patterning in intergroup relations," American Social Review, I956, 2I, I64-I74.

Authors examine development of new definitions of situations in situations varied by experimenters in the field of restaurants and taverns, formal, public, and voluntary organizations.

A.I. In unpatterned situations when person is constrained to act, but cannot predict consequences of his act, he will seek cues from others' behavior in the situation.
2. If no appropriate behavioral cues are available, the confused person will persevere until new action intervenes in the situation. When person acts, but feels two or more definitions of situation are applicable he will give priority to one definition.
3. If this is impossible, he will try to compromise through partial conformity to all applicable options.
4. Direct, overt, interpersonal conflict will not change parties' definitions of situation, but rather reinforces each party's values.
B.I. Major changes in the definition of situations occurs through a series of minor, interdependent redefinitions.
2. A change in appropriate reference groups in ambiguous situations can modify self-conceptions.
C.I. When expectations of the consequences of self and other behaviors change, our ideas relevant to new situations should change accordingly.

Lamanna, Richard A. "The Negro public school desegregation: a survey of Negro teachers in North Carolina," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(9A), 2642-2643.

An analysis of status and role of Negro teacher and determine his thinking about school desegregation and militancy in 1962.

A.I. Negro teachers studied were more militant than expected, actively engaged in activities supporting desegregation.
2. Many teachers' ambivalence, plus married, female, elementary school status is associated with more consertavite attitudes.
3. Factors determining Negro teacher's reactions are complex, numerous and include:
  a. anticipated negative consequences for teachers
  b. favorable self-image
  c. negative consequences for students.
B.I. These factors relate to teacher's identification with white group and equal-status contacts with white group members.
2 .Teachers in urban-industrial, large scale communities more likely to be militant.
C.I. Reduce fears of desegregation to expedite change.
2. Since most factors condition, but can act independently to produce teacher militancy, any program changing one factor, say self-concept, will fail without removing other obstacles.

Lansman, Martin. "The relation of self-image to Negro achievement and attendance in a racially integrated elementary school," Dissertation Abstracts, 1968, 29(2A), 442-443.

Field Research.

A.I. Elementary schools that had been fully integrated for 15 years, with competent teachers, psychological service and remedial reading programs still produced negro students who scored significantly lower than white classmates.
2. This was related to negative self-image brought in from the outside segregated housing pattern.

Larson, R.G. and J. L. Olson. "Section B: compensatory education: how much is enough?" Journal of Negro Education, 1968, 37(2), 164-67

Examine effects on disadvantaged Headstart children of Stephen Bull, full-day kindergarten program in Racine, Wisconsin during 1962-64 on school achievement in first grade.

A. The full-day kindergarten experience improved language development than contrast group, increased IQ scores, social skills, but after the first grade year displayed signs of regression in language development and listening skills.
B. All-day compensatory kindergarten can academically benefit the disadvantaged student, but learning and growth rates will diminish, when saturation efforts stop and are replaced by traditional programs.

C.I. Total curriculum revision of school program is necessary for any lasting solution to problems of disadvantaged in urban public schools.
2. Federal government's follow-through program concept should be implemented in primary grades and beyond on a non-pilot basis.

Lefcourt, H.M. and G.W. Ladwig. "The effect of reference group upon Negroes task persistence in a biracial competitive game," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 2(6), 668-671.

A study of Negro avoidance tendencies in competitive achievement tasks with reduction of avoidance by increasing expectancy of positive reinforcement in a reference group of emphasized competence in jazz.
A. The experimental group with highest expectancy persisted longer than two other groups with less jazz competency in the experimental competitive biracial task.
B.I. Negroes become more task and achievement oriented when they expect their behavior to determine highly valued occurrences of reinforcement.
C.I. Prestige suggestions need to be related to goals which subjects (students) have some expectancy of success.

Lichter, Solomon O., et.al, "Appendix C: a guide for teachers," The Drop-Outs. New York: The Free Press, 1962, 290-294.

Systematic, clinical study of a group of white high school students, majority referred by public school and counseling agencies as potential dropouts from high school.
C.I. Behind almost every classroom problem is an emotional problem, thus, children act for reasons.
2. Teachers must recognize and contain their own angry feelings.
3. Teachers cannot get along with all students and handle on classroom problems with equal success, thus teachers must be flexible and accomodating to necessary shifts and changes over "fighting it out,".
4. Gratifications are possible in teaching and helping a maladjusted child.
5. Don't be impossible to please, have patience, be accepting.
6. Don't have higher expectations of good behavior for a troubled child than for a rarely misbehaving child.
7. Discipline if necessary, but not automatic and should be reasonable and in line with offense rather than teacher's feelings.
8. Use information and consultative help in working with troubled child.
9. Don't underestimate your observations or attitudes regarding troubled students.
10. Know your strengths and limitations and avoid serious complicated actions and recommendations.

I1. Use fully school, community, and specialist resources.
I2. Don't react to or attack parents.
I3. Reflect a positive, helpful school attitude and philosophy in the way you handle student problems.

Litcher, Solomon O., E.B. Rapien, F. M. Seibert, and M.A. Sklansky. Chapter 8, "Collaborative work with the schools," The Drop-Outs. New York: The Free Press, 1962, 167-193.

Systematic, clinical analysis of a group of 105 students (no Negroes), intellectually capable of, but potential drop-outs from high school.

A.1. Satisfactory subject performance was associated with student's liking the teacher.
  2. Students dichotomized their feelings about teachers - good or evil, affectionate-cold, encouraging-deterring.
  3. Teachers tended to underestimate their importance in social-emotional life of students and the positive-negative influences of their words.
C.1. Don't control and motivate by citing others as good examples.
  2. Don't use students in trouble as bad examples.
  3. Don't isolate, emphasize pathology or make scapegoats out of students.
  4. Avoid stereotyping student and be willing to look for and accept signs of improvement.
  5. Use available consultants in social work, psychology, psychiatry.

Linn, Emma L. "The socially disadvantaged child: teacher correlates," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967 (9A), 2890.

Examines performance changes in 1965 Headstart programs in relation to teacher behavior and background (Negro, Latin American, Anglo).

A.1. Performance changes in enrolled Headstart programs were related to teacher characteristics and behavior.
  2. Performance of children was related to teacher background - ethnicity, marital status, home community size, father's occupation, church attendance, experience, grade point average.
  3. Teacher behavior and characteristics were related to teacher background.

Lynn, D.B., W.L. Sawrey. "The effects of father-absence on Norwegian boys and girls," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1959, 59 258-262.

A study of separation and differential effects of prolonged father absences on children, ages 8 to 9, in Norwegian sailor families.

A.I. Father-absent boys showed .
  a. more maturity
  b. stronger father-identification strivings
  c. higher compensatory masculinity
  d. poorer peer adjustment (boys more so than girls).
2. Father-absent girls chose mother doll over father doll in separation situation, showed more dependnecy responses than control girls.

B.I. Higher proportion of father-absent boys than control boys or father-absent girls showing poor peer adjustment shows more effects on father-absence, i.e., inadequate same-sex identification.
2. Father-absent girl is particularly sensitive to fantasied separation or loss of mother model of identification while father-absent boys strive for male identification through compensatory means.

Mackie, James B., Anabel Maxwell, and Frank J. Rafferty, "Psychological development of culturally disadvantaged Negro kindergarten children: A study of the selective influence of family and school variables," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, I967 37(2), 367-368.

Research - inner city Negro slum children over a fifteen month period.

A. The developmental level of both boys and girls appeared to be more strongly influenced by certain characteristics of their families than by pre-school enrichment programs or by the character of their formal school experience. These factors were:
I. family income
2. presence of father for boys
(Others could be, although not mentioned in the study:
3. Kinds of reading materials in the home
4. Number of siblings and peers, especially the former.)

Mann, John S. "Authority styles in a project for Negro children," Journal of Negro Education, I968, 37(2), I60-I63

Examines how authority was handled by teachers and kinds of teacher-pupil relations that resulted in Adams-Morgan Potomac project of Washington, D.C.

A.I. Students responded to violent style of teaching with withdrawal,passivity, brief response to questions, and little voluntary, self-initiative.
2. In response to violent-transcendant approach, student responses tended to be aspiring ones to move on and do better.
3. The transcendant approach appeared more ideal, less possible, focused best on most imaginative student and

generally produced a greater range of "ups and downs."
4. The indirect style (hidden authority) was viewed as a form of dishonesty by children and "democratic practices" invoked distrust and game-wrecking behaviors.
B.I. Different styles of teaching are differentiated by children and have different consequences for them.
C.I. The violent-transcendent style of teaching should be studied and considered for its particular applicability to negro disadvantaged children.

Mason, Elevelyn P. Comparison of Personality Characteristics of Junior High Students from American Indian, Mexican and Caucasian Ethnic Backgrounds. Journal of Social Psychology, 1967, 73(2), 145-155.

California Psychological Inventory given to 49 culturally disadvantaged junior high students in a summer educational enrichment program (26 American-Indian, 13 Caucasian, 10 Mexican).

A.I. Females did consistently poor across 18 subtests.
2. Ethnic group differences for males showed Mexican and Indian lower in social presence than Caucasian.
3. Male Mexican flexibility scores were lower than Caucasian or Indian; higher on social responsibility, tolerance, intellectual efficiency.
B. Cultural disadvantage has different effects in terms of sex of recipient and ethnic group.
C. Passive acquiescence of deprived teenage girl warrants further study. So do the unique problems of deprived American Indians.

Megers, Edna O., "Self concept, family structure and school achievement: a study of disadvantaged Negro boys." Dissertation abstracts, 1967 27(I)(a), 3960.

Research.

A.I. achievers differed from underachievers in being more accepting of their ethnic identity.
2. underachievers revealed higher level of anti-white feelings.
3. achievers revealed a higher degree of internalized controls.
4. achievers were more cautious moving away from extreme positions (either positive or negative)
5. Accept for a limited number of underachievers both groups tended to have realizable vocational goals.
B. The best finding which contradicts some earlier data is explained by the authors' concluding hypotheses that.......the civil rights issue and the dynamics of "pro-social acting out" by large groups of Negroes will effect changes in the self-concept of the Negro and therefore in parent-child relationships in the Negro family, teacher-pupil relationship in the ghetto schools and the achievement orientation of Negro children.

Mermelstein, Egon and Lee S. Shulman, "Lack of formal schooling and acquisition of conservation," Child Development, 1967, 38(I).

Research - questionaires testing Piagetian theory of cognitive development in 6-9 year old Negro children without public schooling for 4 years and with normal schooling.

A.I. Differences between verbal and non-verbal tasks highly significant as might be expected from other research.
2. No significant differences in conservation of perceptual phenomena.
B. The second finding could indicate that Negro children's environment is not deprived of essential stimuli for normal development in all lower class communities.

Meyers, Edmund D. "Effects of social and educational climate of high schools upon the academic performances of negro and white adolescents," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28(7A), 1917.

Exploratory study of differential racial responses to climate. Sample of 20,345 students in 20 non-rural, public, coeducational high schools with 327 matched negro and white students and measured on educational aspirations, intellectual orientations, academic achievement.

A.I. Negroes had higher educational apirations, intellectual orientations than whites.
2. White students tended to be more responsive to social-educational climate of dominant-white high schools, but mixed regarding intellectual orientations.
3. Family variables included number of siblings affected negroes, maternal encouragement influenced whites.
4. Attitudinal variables affected educational aspirations more than academic achievement.
5. Negroes affected more by levels of self-esteem, aspirations or peer achievements, sociometric status than whites.
B.I. Total school effect on negroes and whites is approximately equal.
2. Separate, racially determined social sub-systems account for whites being more influenced by global climate than negroes while negroes are more affected by interpersonal variables.

Minzey, Jack D. "A study of the relationship between teacher morale and student attitudes toward their school environment." Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28 (5A) 1626-1627.

Examines attitudes of Michigan high school students regarding school and teacher morale and effect of teacher feeling about school on student attitudes.

A.I. Teacher morale differs in intensity between schools.

2. Students display
    a. less difference in attitude than teachers
    b. less affected by teacher morale
    c. more similar to peer feelings with differences in degree and affect.
3. Teachers and students differ on attitudes regarding school.
4. Students have accurate perception of teachers' morale.
5. Students from high and low teacher morale schools perceive many items alike, but not perception of fulfilling parental expectations and socio-economic level of family.
6. Teachers are not able to predict student attitudes.

B.I. Since student perception of teacher morale is accurate, the lack of attitude correlations is proof of student independence of attitude from teacher influence.
2. The differences between students' perception of high teacher morale schools and students' perceptions of low teacher morale schools may be based on socio-economic community conditions.

C.I. Student attitudes should be checked regarding morale and school variables.
2. Socio-economic conditions impinging on teachers and student should be studied.
3. What criteria do teachers use to evaluate students?
4. What is relationship between specific teacher morale and student attitudes?

McLennan, Roderick C. "A study of disadvantaged and advantaged students attending the schools of high school district X, suburbia Y," *Dissertation Abstracts*, I967, 28(8A), I994

An examination of differences between advantaged and disadvantaged on I24 characteristics of students, families and home environments in northwest Chicago.

A. Disadvantaged students in contrast to advantaged ones differed by
    I. residing in lower quality home.
    2. lower parental occupational status
    3. less educated parents
    4. less mobile families
    5. fewer parental school visits
    6. more parental punishment
    7. less parental supervision
    8. less obedient to parents
    9. study less
    IO, receive poorer grades
    II. have negative self-images
    I2. are absent from school and social organizations more often
    I3. enroll in vocational over college preparatory courses

B. Many of the differences reported correspond to differences reported in the literature regarding inner-city disadvantaged and advantaged students.

McWhirt, Ronald A. "The effects of desegregation on prejudice, academic aspiration, and the self-concept of tenth grade students." Dissertation Abstracts, I967, 28(6B), 26I0.

Examines changes in attitudes of southern high school students in changing from racially segregated to a desegregated social situation.

A.I. Males increased rating of self-concept over females.
2. In integrated school, negro females and white males increased most.
3. In segregated school, negro males and white females increased most.
4. White students in segregated school and negro students in integrated school increased in their aspirations of a good education, than did segregated negroes and integrated whites.
5. Integrated students became more prejudiced for whites than in segregated schools particularly white segregated and negro females and white males.

B.I. Interracial contact brought changes in negro attitudes in integrated school, but not in white students.
2. Negro students seeking social approval modified their behavior more.
3. Negro students had greater white contacts while in turn a majority of negroes had less effect on a white majority.

Nei, Tam Thi Dang. "Piaget's concept of classification: a comparative study of advantaged and disadvantaged young children," Dissertation Abstracts, I967, 27(I2A) 4I43.

Research.

A.I. There were differences between the two social groups specially in kindergarten.
2. Contrary to expectations 2 years of schooling for the 2nd grade children in deprived groups brought them closer to the middle-class group.
3. Culturally deprived group tended to be less clear in justification for performances, however.
4. In general Piaget's theory of sequence in logical development over time is supported, especially his emphasis on equilibration, i.e. the interaction between individual and environment.

Nickerson, Donald H. "A survey of the distribution of personality types and related interests among competent teachers in advantaged and disadvantaged settings." Dissertation Abstracts, I967, 9(a), 2743.

A survey of personality types and interests of competent teachers in advantaged and disadvantaged teaching situations in Michigan.

A.I. Self-controlling personality types (over impulsive, fearful types were found more among disadvantaged schools early grade teachers than advantaged school early grade teachers.
2. Within the advantaged schools self-controlling types were found more often in the later (over-early) grades; no such differences found in disadvantaged settings.
3. Few personality and interest differences were found between disadvantaged and advantaged teacher groups.
4. The difference between disadvantaged early grade and advantaged early grade teachers personality type displayed only two differences in personality-interest categories.

Pine, Enid. "Changing attitudes of society towards juvenile delinquency," *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal*, I960, I3(4), 383-384.

A. Examination of historical and recent source reveals delinquency is linked with deprivation, whether regarded from a legal, sociological, or psychiatric viewpoint;
C. When teacher deals with the kinds of deprivation that she can directly handle, she can use Premackian reinforcement principles via those objects and situations that were historically deprived, e.g., awarding positions of influence daily in the classroom for other types of behavior.

Riessman, Frank. *The Culturally Deprived Child*. New York: Harper & Row 1962.

An examination of underprivileged groups and individuals to develop new approaches by emphasizing positive aspects of their otherwise ignored cultures.

C.I. Teachers of culturally deprived should be flexible, consistent, direct, informal, clear, warm while recognizing value differences and may selectively disagree with some (eg."anti-intellectualism").
2. She must endure initial non-acceptance and get through resistances in an unfearful, direct, accepting way avoiding prejudgement and over-generalizing tendencies.
3. She must identify and win support of natural leaders.
4. She should emphasize learning over discipline and punishment.
5. She must develop patience, listening, group participation skills.
6. She must expect, encourage, support learning efforts.
7. Teachers must be able to be person-centered over content-centered and be able to identify with the underdog.
8. Teaching deprived to learn goes through a rapport, fascination, power sequence.
9. Teaching effectiveness here is linked with appreciating the interests of the deprived and seeing their goals in relation to higher educational ones with a respect and acceptance of their values and cultural ways.

Risley, Todd. "Learning and lollipops," Psychology Today, 1968, 1(8), 28-31, 62-65.

Results of Juniper Gardens Children's Project in northeast Kansas City, Kansas with preschoolers of 'hard core' and 'upwardly mobile' poverty groups.

B.1. Behavior with social consequences could not be maintained without dual support from a preceding stimulus (greeting, M&M candy) and subsequent approval.
2. Preschoolers did learn social skills, language, and IQ increases under special reinforcement program.
3. Parents were trained to be reinforcing teachers, but did better with other than their own children.

C.1. Nursery school programs should not be modeled for middle-class children; disadvantaged have often motor skills, interaction patterns, but need appropriate content, substitutes for aggressive behavior, less reinforcement of disruptive tactics, for social reinforcements will be weak in the absence of social skills which can be developed first.
2. Food or specific physical objects may be needed first to gain reinforcing responses desired.
3. Good pre-schools are necessary for the disadvantaged students' entrance into public schools.

Rogers, Donald W. "Visual expression: A creative advantage of the disadvantaged," Gifted Child Quarterly, 1968, 12(2), 110-114.

Natural research - 5th & 6th gaders tested on drawing ability, esthetic judgment, visual originality.

A.1. Disadvantaged scored significantly higher on visual fluency.
2. No significant difference on tests of esthetic judgment and visual originality.
3. Advantaged superior in drawing ability.
4. Disadvantaged improved significantly in ability after art instruction course.

C. Any superior quality of disadvantaged students can be capitalized on for situations to apply praise and give esteem to S's in class.

Rosenthal, Robert and Lenore Jacobson, "Self-fulfilling prophecies in the class-room: Teachers expectations as unintended determinants of pupils intellectual competence, "Martin Deutsch et al (ed), Social Class, Race, and Psychological Development.

Reviews past theory and related research as well as more recent research study by the authors.

A. Experiment supports presuppositions and finds from less empirical work in the past

I. The effect was significantly prevalent in the lower-grade levels . A number of interpretations (not necessarily mutually exclusive) were suggested.
2. Children who were not expected to show growth in intellectual functioning were regarded less favorably the more they gained intellectually.

Ryckman, David B "A comparison of information processing abilities of middle and lower class Negro kindergarten boys." Exceptional Children, 1967, 33(8), 545-552.

Research - administered battery of instruments assessing specific information processing abilities.

A.I. Analysis of I9 variables produced 5 meaningful components; general language ability components most significant in discriminating between middle and lower class Negro boys.
B. Implications for educational definition, diagnosis, and program planning are discussed.

Sain, Leonard Franklin, "Occupational Preferences and Expectations of Negro Students attending a High School Located in a Lower Socio-Economic Area".

Research - Questionnaire

A.I. Low SES Negro occupational expectations were unrealistic in relation to their occupational preferences.
2. The students perceive their parents as having the same aspirations for the students as the latter have for themselves.
3. S's perceive parents and relations as being more influential in their choice of occupation than teachers and counselors.
C. The suggestions given for vocational guidance are relatively conservative. Such a study does suggest or reinforce opinion that a program of academic relevancy is badly needed more so for these students than non-deprived ones, especially relevancy in relation to their preferences.

Seagull, A.A. "Subpatterns of gratification choice within samples of negro and white children," Paper of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, 1966, 5I(2), 345-35I.

Research.

A.I. Unclassifiable S's (by socio-economic level) chose delayed reward significantly less.
2. Situational variables appear to determine delay choice - not class affiliation.

Sears, R.R., M.H. Pintler and P.S. Sears, "Effects of father separation on preschool children's doll play agresion," Child Development, 1946, I7, 2I9-243.

Authors examine aggression and its instigation with 126 nursery school children, in half of which father is absent in military service, in regard to sex-typing processes.

A.1. Father provides an important sex-typing and aggressive model for pre-school boys.
2. His absence leads to aggression reduction in doll play apparently with no specific suppression by mother.
3. This effect decreases with child's age and assumed increased social contact.
4. Father's aggressiveness acts to frustrate sons, and apparently acts to control sons more, leading to fantasied father-directed and self-directed aggression.
5. In father's absence both parents share in child's direct aggression until age 5.
6. Father's apparent permissiveness of aggression does not make him more tolerant of aggression directed toward him.
7. Father absence was associated with greater aggression (self-aggression) in girls.
8. Parent of same sex provides most frustration and control.
9. Rise in aggression in doll play occurred in the father-present groups.

Simpson, Ansel P. "Attitude change, social status, and minority group membership: A study in experimental sociology," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(9A), 2635.

Examines change in cognitive assessment of minority group membership as a function of exposure to a member of minority group holding high school status.

A.1. High status plus minority group membership of teacher has capacity to effect favorable change in minority group attitudes of students.
2. Subject-matter is of little consequence on range of attitude change effects.
3. The lower the status of the minority group in 'question', the greater the ability of high status-minority person to effect favorable change.
4. The greater conformity of the low status minority with high status person's expectations, the greater positive effect in relatively short time (uneffected by sex, and effecting more than one out of three persons with group characteristics of medium to large city residence, high occupational status, parents with high school education or better, average age of group members 19).
5. High status, minority group membership effects more favorable attitude change toward the given minority group as one follows a progression from rural, small city to medium and large city.

Singer, Dorothy. "Interracial attitudes of negro and white fifth-grade children in segregated and unsegregated schools," *Dissertation Abstracts*, I967 (9A), 3I43-3I44.

To test the hypothesis that white children in classroom context with Negro children are more favorably disposed to Negro children than without such contact; in addition, that intelligence and sex would affect attitudes in defacto segregated white, Negro and unsegregated schools.

A.I. White children in unsegregated schools more willing to associate with Negro children.
2. Negro children in unsegregated school more accepting of whites than segregated Negro children.
3. Integrated white children saw Negroes as more aggressive and non-achievers, but were more willing to association with them than low exposure whites.
4. Superior IQ white girls in segregated schools and white girls, average IQ in unsegregated school were most willing to associate with Negroes.
5. High IQ Negro girls in unsegregated and segregated schools were least willing to association with whites saw whites as aggressive, non-achievers.
6. Negro, unsegregated school boys were willing to associate with whites than segregated Negro boys.
7. Integrated school Negroes were more willing to "color" themselves in a "draw yourself" task than segregated students.
B.I. Intelligence interacts with sex and exposure.
2. Negroes integrated differentiate themselves from whites more clearly and are more accepting of their race.
C.I. More study of attitudes over time as integration in schools progresses.

Slaughter, O.H. "Cognitive style: some implications for curriculum and instructional practices among negro children" *Journal of Negro Education*, 1969, 38, I05-III.

An attempt to bridge information gap and make specific recommendations from recent research in instructional practice with disadvantaged children, particularly uses of male primary teachers and *Inquiry Training*.

C.I. Don't consider Negro as being not interested in school and learning, but teach him to expect and acquire positive social reinforcement.
2. Help students reinforce themselves by not penalizing them for what and where they are and developing inquiry methods.
3. Consider the handling of "male-type" tasks by male teachers to more clearly emphasize sex-role identifications and accurate self - other perceptions.
4. Emphasize beyond methods of teaching social skills, interests in learning, sense of personal over environmental control.

Smith, Donald H. A speaker models project to enhance pupils' self-esteem. Journal of Negro Education, 1967, 36(2), 177-180.

Describes teacher's experience and efforts to promote self-acceptance and development in bright, Freshman, high school Negroes.

A.I. Of 24 students in one year project 21 graduated, 15 attended college in urban school with high drop-out ratio.

C.I. Teachers must be sensitive, flexible, capable of promoting others' self development, particularly toward positive, realistic employment opportunities.

Stabler, John P. and Oliver B. Perry. "Learning and retention as a function of instructional method and race," Journal of Psychology, 1967, 67(2), 271-276.

Natural Lab. Research. Comparisons were made between programmed and conventional instruction, and between Caucasian and Negro university students.

A. Posttest scores were reliably higher for students taught by programmed text and for caucasian students.

I. Racial differences attributed to past environments (segregated schools).

2. Retention test showed no differential loss in retention.

Stabler, John R. and O.B. Perry. "Learning and retention as a function of instructional method and race," Journal of Psychology, 1967 67(2), 271-276.

A study of comparisons between college students taught conventionally and by programmed textbooks and Caucasian and Negro students from white and Negro universities respectively.

A.I. Programmed text. Caucasian students received higher scores than lecture-Caucasian students and higher on the post-test than programmed textbook-Negro students.

2. No group showed superior retention or superior favorableness of attitude toward programmed instruction.

3. Negroes scored higher on need for achievement and lower on affiliation and exhibitionism than white students.

4. Programmed instruction was more effective than conventional for whites and Negroes.

5. Whites learned more, but were attending a better quality of educational university.

6. Differences of a nonintellectual nature were suggested-self confidence, motivation, attitudes toward learning, but high need for achievement of Negroes tested was overshadowed by other factors; physical background and environment.

Stein, David D., J.A. Hardyck, and M.B. Smith. "Race and belief: an open and shut case," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1(4), 281-289.

Examine Rokeach's contention that prejudice is result of perceived dissimilarity of belief systems by studying white 9th graders' responses to a "teenage social distance scale" for 4 "stimulus teenagers" (white or Negro), like-unlike subject in values, and subjects' rated friendliness toward "Stimulus teenager."

A.I. Belief congruence accounted for more variance than race, but both were significant.
2. When white subjects are given no information regarding Negro teenager, they assume a difference in values, but greater similarity to unknown whites.
3. The fact of being Negro seemed to mark him as "different for whites, no matter other similarities.
4, When belief effect controlled, race and status effects were more significant.

B.I. A "race effect" appears mainly with items involving "intimacy of contact" and pres-nces of others enforcing social norms.
2. In the absence of information, persons rely on others and past experience to make judgments.
3. Thus, lack of belief knowledge forces one to guess regarding Negroes being unlike white person.
4. In presence of information subjects respond more in relation to belief congruence.

C. If persons of different races can encounter one another under conditions favoring perception of belief congruence (equal-status), racial prejudice should be reduced.

Stodolsky, Susan S., and Zesser, Gerald. "Learning patterns in the dis= advantaged, Harvard Educational Review, 1967, 57(4), 546-595.

Reviews evidence from other studies which challenge educational policies based on Coleman's concept of "equal footing" level.

A. The data he reviews seem to indicate that:
I. Once the mental-ability pattern specific to the ethnic group emerges, social class variations within the ethnic group do not alter the basic organization associated with ethnicity.
2. Therefore, he suggests what he calls "equal opportunity for maximum development" (of the ethnic group special ability).

Strauss, Susan. "The effect of school integration on the self-concept of negro and Puerto Rican children," Graduate Research in Education and Related Disciplines, 1967, 3(I)

Research - Compared the self-concept of 2nd and 3rd grade Negro and Puerto Rican children of low socio-economic background in integrated (paired) schools where the populations of each ethnic racial group was proportionate to the white population .

A. Pairing does increase the self-concept of negro and Puerto Rican children.

Tumin, Melvin M. ed., Race and Intelligence, Anti-defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1963, New York:

An evaluation of race research.

A. A panel of four famous scientists conclude that....any claim regarding innate differences between Negroes and whites with regard to intelligence cannot be substantiated unless three conditions are met.

   I. The distinctive genetic, or "racial", homogeneity of the Negro group being tested, as well as that of the white group being tested must be demonstrated, not assumed.
   2. The social and cultural backgrounds of the Negroes and whites being tested or otherwise being measured must be fully equal.
   3. Adequate tests of native intelligence and other mental and psychological capacities, with proven reliability and validity, will have to be used.

To date, none of these crucial conditions has been satisfactorily met.

Tefcourt, Herbert M., & Zadwig, Gordon W. "The effect of reference group upon Negroes task persistence in a bi-racial competitive game." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, I(6). 668-67I.

Research concerns Negro Ss avoidance tendencies in competitive achievement tasks.

A. In a competitive game where white stooges won continuously, Negro groups that were comprised of jazz musicians and who had been led to believe that the game was related to personal skills of musician persisted significantly longer than control groups. The latter demonstrated typical failure-avoidance characteristic of Negroes in previous research.

C. Reference group identification could be used to the student's advantage particularly in teaching "Verbal" oriented courses i.e. history, English, social studies, e.g. in assigning essays the teacher could suggest topics of relevant interest.

Torrance, E.P. "Finding hidden talents among disadvantaged children," Gifted Child Quarterly, 1968, I2(3), I3I-I37.

Discusses the creativity workshop as a format for finding hidden talents among disadvantaged children.

B. Following activities in drawing, painting, dramatics, storytelling, singing, sociodrama, problem solving, photography, etc.

   I. Most effective techniques utilized were
      a. Prizes to motivate creative thinking
      b. Small group instruction
      c. Use of puppetry
      d. Imaginative reading of stories.
   2. Torrance Test of Creative Thinking and the Stanford Binet Scale indicated many children coming out of these workshops as being creative and intellectually gifted.

Tulkin, Steven R. "Race, class, family and school achievement", Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1968, 9(1).

An examination of intelligence and achievement scores with home and family information regarding 5th and 6th grade students of upper and lower class status in Maryland.

A.1. In upper socio-economic status groups verbal-non-verbal test differences were found; in lower socio-economic status group only non-verbal differences found.
2. Racial differences on 'crowdedness ratio' in family found in both socio-economic status groups, number of siblings and family participation in lower socio-economic status group only.
3. Within each race, significant social class differences were found on every measure.
4. Controlling for socio-economic status did not equate Negro-white samples.
5. Broken homes more common proportionately in upper socio-economic status Negro group than upper socio-economic white group; no difference between upper and lower socio-economic Negro groups.
6. Maternal employment varied more on racial than socio-economic status lines.
7. Verbal intelligence accounts for larger proportion of total achievement in upper socio-economic status groups.
8. None of home and family scales correlated with total achievement in lower socio-economic status Negro group.
9. In upper socio-economic group all racial differences found were attributable to male, but not female groups. At lower socio-economic group the pattern reversed and females showed most significant differences.

B.1. No differences found in upper socio-economic status whites and Negroes when broken homes, maternal unemployment, crowdedness of home controlled and no difference between upper socio-economic status white and Negro girls, even without controls. Yet racial difference at lower socio-economic level remains to be explained.

C.1. Consider wider economic differences at lower socio-economic status level as explanation.
2. Greater prematurity at lower socio-economic level.
3. Need more controls to make more conclusive findings of no intellectual differences between different racial groups with similar social class status and experiences.

Vosk, Jeanette S. "Study of Negro children with learning difficulties at the onset of their school careers". American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1966, 36(1).

A.1. 'Slow learners' came to school with particular vulnerability to failure, i.e. fear of failure.

C.1. Before they can learn tool subjects, they must be helped to a sense of their own worth and constructive capabilities through appropriate and meaningful school activities.

Walsh, Paul A. "A study of environmental visual stimuli of children of different social class," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(8A),2461.

Examines range of differences in environmental visual stimuli for selected groups of 1st graders from upper middle class and slum homes.

A.I. Two communities studied differed widely on socio-economic factors.
2. Reading texts in 5 of 6 cases were identical and only slightly different in 6th.
3. Urban schools expected children to identify with books depicting types of experiences child had not had in any meaningful sense.
C.I. Communities should develop materials based on child's past experiences, adding meaning and relevance.
2. Both materials and experiences of child should be broadened and incorporated into education.
3. Teacher should construct own materials and phase them into educational program.

Weber, G.H. and A.B. Motz. "School as perceived by the dropout," Journal of Negro Education, 1968, 37(2), 127-134.

Examine the dropouts' perception of school by interviewing two groups of impoverished, male, Negro dropouts from 4 large eastern city schools.

A.I. Teacher seen as a "boring talker", using ineffective techniques, not explaining and clarifying materials, punitive and negatively sanctioning through grading.
B.I. The school and staff are too indifferent and punitive for these students.
2. "Classroom dropouts" become "school dropouts" through a one-way subordinate relationship rather than mutual, interacting form, immediately providing positive gratifications.
3. Generally, this pattern reflects a societal one of negatively managing rule-breakers without studying the conditions provoking rule-breaking and the institutions maintaining them.

Wei, Tam T.D. "Piaget's concept of classification: a comparative study of advantaged and disadvantaged young children," Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 27(12A) 4143.

A study of differences in classificatory performances of socially disadvantaged children and middle-class children in kindergarten and grade two and by race.

A.I. Ability to classify increased with age; disadvantaged child proceeds slower than middle-class child; however, the 2nd grade deprived children were (contrary to prediction) closer to the middle-class group.

A.2. The disadvantaged appeared less clear in the justifications for their performance.
 3. Race and sex did not differentiate subjects.
B.I. Supported Piaget's theory of sequence in logical development related to age of equilibration of person and environment.
 2. Opportunities denied the deprived person may contribute to gaps or differences in development.
C.I. Research different social classes over wider age range to understand development of classification skills and answer problem of "matching" education and environment.
 2. Relate classification with other academic performances.
 3. Research in teaching procedures facilitating child's learning of classification concepts.

Weissman, Julius, "An exploratory study of communication patterns of lower-class Negro and Puerto Rican mothers and pre-school children."

Research: To investigate an assumption that lower-class family life was socializing passive behavior and lack of motivation for learning in the developmental growth of lower class children.

A.I. The Puerto Rican mother-child pairs were twice as active as the Negro group in verbal and non-verbal forms of communication that encouraged exploratory behavior and learning.
 2. The PR group had higher activity rates than the Negro group in such categories as "teaching" in the reinforcement of verbal praise, smiles, touch contacts, and related areas.
 3. The Negro group was more active in the use of verbal admonitions and "don'ts", critical comments, in directing and (coercing) verbal and non-verbal communications.
B. These findings are very salient in explaining some data in the bibliography e.g. the findings that teachers respond more often and more positively to PR students than Negro students. Although there is a great deal of passivity on the part of PR students in the school setting the more active "positive" interpersonal contacts of their family life make them more susceptible to modification.

Westie, Frank R. "Negro-white status differentials and social distance," American Social Review, 1952, 17, 550-558.

A study of variations in respondent status and status of person toward whom attitudes are expressed. Subjects were white, male, adults of varying status levels (attitude objects were negroes in variously scaled occupations) in Indianapolis.

A.I. The higher the Negro's status the less social distance expressed toward him by whites.
 2. Extent of Negro's occupational status affects on the distance accorded him, varies with respondent status.
 3. The within-group status of the Negro makes more difference to middle and upper status, than lower status whites. "Middle status whites made most distinction of Negro status on

Residential Distance and Interpersonal Physical Distance factors while upper status whites focused more on Position Distance and Interpersonal Distance areas.

4. Thus, the higher the socioeconomic status of the responding white, the greater the alteration of response with variations in negro occupational status.

B.I. Social distance is least when both Negro and white have high socioeconomic status and greatest when both have low socioeconomic status.

2. These generalizations vary with the interaction areas within which distance is expressed.
3. Respondents are more rigid in interpersonal-physical distance and residential distance, than in position and interpersonal-social distance areas.
4. Evidence for high attitude generalizability was not found.

Westie, Frank R. and D.H. Howard. "Social status differentials and the race attitudes of negros," American Social Review, 1954, 19, 584-591.

Examines attitudes of minority Negro group members toward majority white members in eight different occupational categories.

A.I. Inverse relationship between status of Negro and distance accorded whites, higher the Negroes' status, the less distance expressed toward whites.

2. Negroes express least distance toward high status whites, greatest distance from lowest status whites.
3. Upper status Negroes are less categorical in responses to whites.
4. Negro responses to whites vary according to area of interaction eliciting response.

B.I. High ranking professional and white collar Negroes express least distance toward whites while unskilled service Negroes express greatest distance.

2. High white status mitigates distance from upper status Negro responses, but not for lower status Negro responses.
3. Generally, these conclusions compared favorably with a previous study of white attitudes toward Negroes which appeared more consistent and showed greater response differences.

C. Study further reciprocal relationships of majority and minority groups in terms of competition theory.

Wilcox, Preston R. "Teacher attitudes and student achievement." Teacher College Record, Columbia University, 1967, 68(5), 371-379.

A didactic attempt to challenge and confront white teachers' moral conscience.

C.I. Help teachers know students as persons.

2. Bridge school and community gap.
3. Engage teachers in students' search for self-discovery.
4. Respect and encourage cultural diversity.

William, John E. "Connotations of color names among Negroes and Caucasians" Perceptual and Motor Skills, 1964, 18(3), 721-731.

Research study using semantic differential scores to analyze the connotative meaning of five "race-related" and five control color names.

A.1. In both groups the color names WHITE AND BLACK were shown to differ markedly in evaluative meaning with former being rated quite good and the latter somewhat bad.
2. Direction of the cause-effect negative connotation appeared to be "black" affecting "Negro."
3. Once prejudice is learned the conditioning can occur in reverse order - creating a vicious circle.

B.1. Empirical study showed what was pretty much accepted in academic circles.

Wober, Mallory. "Towards a theory linking ability, personality, and culture in education," Journal of Special Education, 1967, 1(4) 347-356.

A review of recent work in social psychology that draws together previously separate fields of study in personality and ability. The link idea is "psychological differentiation."

B.1. Early experience in different sense media leads to abilities being developed in different ways.
2. In one type of culture a certain social organization, range of attitudes, and type of ability will result. In another type, the tendency will be not for any one of these items to differ piecemeal, but for all these to be organized differently.
3. In U.S. an overlapping two cultures problem exists.
   a. the dominant sub-culture controls media and seeks to educate members of underprivileged subculture.
   b. efforts at treating part of the problem will be impeded.
4. a. The dominant sub-culture may have to absorb some of the values of the underprivileged sub-culture.
   b. The dominant sub-culture has to consider more total educational institutional methods.

Zito, Robert J. "Some effects of regular and special education programs on achievement motivation in educable mentally retarded Negro adolescents. Dissertation Abstracts, 1967, 28(5B), 2131.

Investigated differences in achievement motivation between urban Negro educable retardates in regular junior high school and special education classes.

A.1. Regular class retardates compared to special class retardates showed
   a. greater shifting of aspiration level following success experiences.

   - b. made higher level future occupation choices.
   - c. had greater reading achievement and slightly less fear of failure.
   - d. more hope of success.
   - e. aspirational shift following failure experiences (similar to negro normal subjects).

2. Regular class retardates were most different from normals and special class subjects in their level of aspiration and shifting after success experiences, but all groups proved similar after failure experiences.
3. Disadvantaged Negro students displayed achievement motivation under arousal conditions regardless of intelligence and type of school program.
4. Educable retarded Negro students in regular class had higher reading achievement, hope of success, high occupational goals with less fear of failure and negative response than did students in special classes.

SECTION III

In this section, the material contained in the Section II abstracts has been collated and re-ordered into two separate lots. The first lot contains research derived information. The second contains recommendations. In each case the same procedure was followed. First, a system for categorizing each item on the basis of its content was devised. Then these categories were grouped in clusters that were also based on a content analysis. Then each item was allocated to the appropriate category. The list of categories for the research based information appears below. After it comes the detailed item by item information. The list of categories for the recommendations similarly precedes the presentation of the recommendation items. The latter appear at the end of this section.

Research Information Categories

I. The disadvantaged family.
   Father absence--effects.
   Background characteristics of disadvantaged children.

II. The disadvantaged environment and cognition.
   Learning and cognitive performance.
   Intelligence.

III. The disadvantaged environment and language.
   Perceptual stimuli.
   Perceptual and conceptual development.

IV. Self concept: correlates
   : identity and skin color
   : integration
   : Negro stereotypes.

   Negro pre-schoolers.
   The Negro child in the high school.

V. Expectations.
   Aspirations and achievement motivation.
   Achievement.
   Classification performance.
   Reinforcement.

VI. Attitudes: student teacher
: social and racial.
Social distance and status.
Integration.

VII. Teacher: characteristics
: pupil-authority relationship.
: morale.

VIII. Programs.
Reinforcement in programs.

It will be apparent that a kind of logic informs the ordering of the clusters. There is a more or less rational relationship between each set and its corresponding antecedent and subsequent ones. The initial group of three categories starts with a broad focus on some of the common general factors in the immediate environment of the disadvantaged child. The next set, with finer focus, deals with the environment as it influences learning and cognitive performance. The third set leads from a concentration on language to a treatment of the two factors highly related to and influenced by language development. Next, for the reason that language is central to human development, the topic of self-concept follow it. After it, because of the logical connection, comes a consideration of the specific problem of black identity. Expectations, a pervasive term in social psychology, provides the lead into the next set whose main concern is with achievement and motivation. Attitudes constitute the central theme that follows. Their introduction permit a broadening of the focus to include the social setting with its interpersonal characteristics. A consideration of the teacher follows logically from this while the last section deals with some programs that have attempted to treat the general problem of disadvantaged education.

I. The Disadvantaged Family

1. Inadequate nutrition and pre-natal conditions in Negro mothers:
    - a. increase complications in pregnancy
    - b. produce neurological damage
    - c. impair intellectual behavioral performance
    - d. may lead to hyperactivity, distractability, low attention span and accompanying educational problems (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)
2. Anomie in the Negro family, Negro child mobility and shifts from rural to urban environments is significantly related to the sanctioning of racial violence (Justice, 1966)
3. Negroes tend to have more crowded families than whites (Tulkin, 1968)
4. The number of siblings and family participation differ on the basis of race within the lower socio-economic class (Tulkin, 1968)
5. Poor families and their use of educational opportunities:
    - a. non-participation was more related to communication between the school and the family regarding programs rather than socio-economic and social psychological problems
    - b. the culture of poverty thesis was not supported
    - c. poor families were involved in organized community activities.
    - d. the poor were registered voters and reported voting in the last election
    - e. no feelings of fatalism and helplessness were expressed
    - f. they held expectations that their children would succeed in life
    - g. the majority of the poor families were self-supporting
    - h. 65% of the breadwinners were employed in either skilled or technical occupations (Dunmore, 1968)

Father Absence and Effects

1. With eight to nine year old children in Norwegian sailor families:
    - a. father absent boys showed:
        - 1) more immaturity
        - 2) stronger father identification strivings
        - 3) higher compensatory masculinity
        - 4) poorer peer adjustment
    - b. father absent girls showed more dependency responses than control girls.

   - c. the father absent girl is more sensitive to fantasied separation or loss of mother
   - d. father absent boys strive for male identification through compensatory means
   - e. father absent girls chose mother doll over father in separation situation
   - f. father absent girls showed more dependency responses than control girls (Epstein & Komorite, 1966)

2. Father provides an important sex-typing and aggressive model for pre-school boys (Sears et al, 1946)
3. Father absence leads to aggression reduction in doll play apparently with no specific suppression by mother (Sears et al, 1946)
4. Fathers aggressiveness acts to frustrate sons and apparently acts to control sons more. This leads to fantasied father-directed and self-directed aggression (Sears et al, 1946)
5. In fathers' absence both parents share in child's direct aggression until age five (Sears et al, 1946)
6. Fathers' apparent permissiveness of aggression does not make him tolerant of aggression directed towards him (Sears et al, 1946)
7. Fathers' absence was associated with greater self-aggression in girls (Sears et al, 1946)
8. Parent of the same sex provides the most frustration and control (Sears et al, 1946)
9. Father absent children:
   - a. had a greater preponderance of stereotyped family fantasies about leisure time and living room recreational activities
   - b. had less aggression fantasy toward the whole family and the subject child
   - c. father was less often the recipient of the mother's hostility
   - d. father was never seen in an angry mood (Bach, 1946)
10. Affectionate fantasies from and for the father were higher in father absent subjects who had fewer authoritative fantasies (Bach, 1946)
11. Children had ambivalent aggressive father fantasies where maternal father typing was depreciative (Bach, 1946)

Background Characteristics of Disadvantaged Children

1. Factors which may influence disadvantaged children (especially Negro boys) are:
   - a. paternal absences
   - b. gang influences

c. economic status
d. lack of early educational stimuli
e. alternating repressive and indulgent patterns of child-rearing
f. negative reinforcement on self-concept and cognitive development
g. slavery residues of oppression, compliance, bondage, poverty, low achievement and discrimination (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)

2. Disadvantaged students differ from advantaged students in that they:
   a. reside in a lower quality home
   b. have lower parental occupational status
   c. have less educated parents
   d. have less mobile families
   e. have fewer parental school visits
   f. get more parental punishment
   g. get less parental supervision
   h. are less obedient to parents
   i. study less
   j. get poorer grades
   k. have negative self images
   l. are absent from school and social organisations more often
   m. enrol in vocational rather than college preparatory courses (McLennan, 1967)
3. The typical outlook of young Negro boys in Harlem includes:
   a. failure in school
   b. punishment from mothers and teachers
   c. tension in the family
   d. danger in the environment
   e. resignation
   f. apathy
   g. fear of punishment
   h. feelings of alienation and personal damage (Kandell, 1967)
4. The Negro child must deal with six focal community problems:
   a. trouble
   b. toughness
   c. smartness
   d. excitement
   e. fate
   f. autonomy for survival and status reasons (Henderson, 1967)

II. The Disadvantaged Environment and Cognition

1. Lower class mothers appeared to not relate particular acts to preceding ones and their consequences, thus lacking sequential meaning in context, motivation of subjects or task goals and anticipatory reflective alternative decision-making modes (Hess and Shipman, 1965)
2. When broken homes, maternal unemployment and crowdedness in the home are controlled, there is no difference on school achievement and intelligence measures of the children of upper socio-economic status whites and Negroes (Tulkin, 1968)
3. The family characteristics such as family income and presence of father for boys tend to be more important for the developmental level of culturally disadvantaged pre-school Negro boys and girls, than pre-school enrichment programs and the character of their formal school experience (Mackie et al, 1967)
4. The socio-economic class and family background of a student exerted more influence on scholastic achievement than the school attended by the Negro student (Klein, 1967)
5. The Negro child's environment may not be deprived of essential stimuli for normal development in all lower class communities (Mermelstein & Shulman, 1967)

Learning and Cognitive Performance

1. Class affiliation is not significant in determining delay choices in gratification, but situational variables may be more important (Seagull, 1966)
2. While middle class children can perform quite well under conditions where the only reinforcement or feedback is simple knowledge of results, lower class children need reinforcement consisting of tangible rewards (Jensen, 1968)
3. Semantic generalisation as opposed to primary generalisation would seem to be more prominent earlier in other development continuum or S-R to S-V-R behavior in the middle class child compared to the lower class child (Jensen, 1968)
4. Lower class group tended to be higher on relational sorting where the middle class group were higher on descriptive categorical sorting (Hess & Shipman, 1965)
5. Lower class children tended to perform less well on sorting tasks and offering verbal explanations for each sort, than the middle class children (Hess & Shipman, 1965)
6. Negro children tend toward failure avoidance.

Intelligence

1. Negroes tested in verbal intelligence were lower than whites (Harris, 1967)
2. Within races there are significant social class differences on measures of intelligence (Tulkin, 1968)

3. Present day intelligence tests are biased against black children to an unknown degree (Deutsch, 1968)
4. Findings are not conclusive that there is no intellectual difference between racial groups with similar social class, status and experience (Tulkin, 1968)
5. A statistic gathered to measure meaningfulness was used to re-evaluate the data given in studies on Negro-white I.Q.'s and showed that although such tests are reliable they are not valid because they are measuring cultural rather than individual propensities (Hicks & Pellegrini, 1966)
6. To be able to substantiate any claim that there are innate differences between Negroes and whites with regard to intelligence three conditions must be met:
   a. the distinctive genetic, racial homegeneity of any of the groups concerned must be demonstrated and not assumed
   b. the social and cultural backgrounds of the Negroes and whites being tested must be fully equal
   c. adequate tests of native intelligence and other mental and psychological capacities with proven reliability and validity will have to be used (Tumin, 1963)
7. Once the basic mental ability pattern specific to the ethnic group emerges, social class variations within the ethnic group do not alter the basic organisation associated with ethnicity (Stodolsky & Zesser, 1967)
8. Many children who are disadvantaged may be creative and intellectually gifted (Torrance, 1968)

III. The Disadvantaged Environment and Language

1. Communication patterns in lower class Negro and Puerto Rican families show:
    a. Puerto Rican mother-child pairs were twice as active as the Negro group in verbal and non-verbal forms of communication which encouraged exploratory behavior and learning
    b. The Puerto Rican group had higher activity rates than the Negro group in such categories as 'teaching' in the reinforcement of verbal praise, smiles and touch contacts
    c. The Negro group was more active in the use of verbal admonitions and don'ts and critical comments, in directing and coercing verbal and non-verbal communications (Weissman, 1967)
2. There is greater interaction between ethnic groups sharing the same language (Brislin, 1968)
3. Characteristics of lower class language include:
    a. in the home there is repeatedly less verbal play, less verbal interaction, and less reinforcing behavior on the part of the adults of the household in response to the child's early vocalisations (Jensen, 1968)
    b. in the lower class family with a number of children born closely together (and hence spend more time in the company of their verbal peers), the children receive less verbal attention from their mother (Jensen, 1968)
    c. spoken language is less like written language syntactically and grammatically, and in overall sequential organisation and logical progression. Hence there is a less positive transfer to language of books and journals (Jensen, 1968)
    d. lower class language consists of incidental 'emotional' accompaniment to action here and now (Jensen, 1968)
    e. lower class mothers have less verbal output, less abstraction, less complex syntactical structures, and thus less elaborated code (Hess & Shipman, 1965)
    f. lower class Negroes have fewer language patterns, less extensive vocabulary and less effective oral communication when compared to middle class whites (King, 1967)
    g. lower class Negroes and middle class whites did not vary much on specific perceptual stimuly presented, yet they differed in oral language expression of perceptual effects (King, 1967)

Perceptual Stimuli

1. The Negro child's environment may not be deprived of essential stimuli for normal development in all lower class communities (Mermelstein & Shulman, 1967)
2. Stimulus familiarity is an important factor (among others) in

proficiency in concept formation (Katz, 1968)

3. Irrelevant stimulus information is related to concept problem difficulty in children (Katz, 1968)
4. Increased reaction time may indicate increased processing ability, reflective modes with complex stimuli tasks (Katz, 1968)
5. Early experience to different sense media leads to abilities being developed in different ways (Wober, 1967)

Perceptual and Conceptual Development

1. In a study comparing children who were lower class Negro and middle class white:
   a. the groups did not vary much on specific perceptual stimuli presented
   b. the groups did vary on oral language expression of perceptual effects
   c. there were differences in capacities for elaborating perceptions into concepts, demonstrating the relation between language and consequent thinking (King, 1967)
2. Lower class children have an initial disadvantage in perceptual discrimination tasks (Deutsch, 1968)
3. Lower class children tend to have less early exposure and experience at labelling of various stimulus modalities, and these skills are very important in aiding perceptual retention and discrimination (Deutsch, 1968)
4. In a research setting, training disadvantaged children in labelling and discriminating component stimulus attributes resulted in greater attention to those attributes in inductive concept attainment, but in no greater success in solving concept tasks (Kofsky, 1967)
5. Proficiency in concept formation is related to:
   a. developmental level in children
   b. age
   c. I.Q.
   d. stimulus familiarity
   e. verbal label availability (Katz, 1968)
6. Concept formation difficulty in children is related to irrelevant stimulus information (Katz, 1968)
7. In a study involving Negro and white pre-schoolers, females were better than males in the area of concept development associated with naming colors and in number concepts (Kohlwes, 1967)

IV. Self-Concept: Correlates

1. Negro:
    - a. a child by age five is aware of his inferior social status (Sears et al, 1946)
    - b. a child may have a conflict at about five and anxiety as to whom he will identify himself with (Clark & Clark, 1939)
    - c. children between the ages of three and four go through a distinct delimitation of the self as a distinct person as a precursory development to one racial group identification (Clark & Clark, 1939)
    - d. children tend to failure avoidance (Tefcourt & Zadwig, 1965)
    - e. disadvantaged boys who are achievers differ from underachievers in that they were more accepting of their ethnic identity (Meyers, 1967)
    - f. children are able to cope with prevalent cultural attitudes and racial values, when they come to an increasing awareness of their own racial differences and identity (Sears et al, 1946)
    - g. children have differences in self-confidence toward learning to white children (Stabler & Perry, 1967)
    - h. disadvantaged children tended to be resigned, apathetic, and have feelings of alienation and personal damage (Kendell, 1967)
2. Civil rights and pro-social behavior by Negroes will effect self-concept change in children and therefore in the Negro family, in the teacher-pupil relationship in the ghetto and the achievement orientations of Negro children (Meyers, 1967)
3. Disadvantaged children, especially Negro boys have their self-concept and cognitive development negatively reinforced (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)
4. Disadvantaged students tended to have negative self-images (McLennan, 1967)

Self-Concept: Identity and Skin Color

1. The Negro child's low self-esteem appears based on a racial (skin color) factor (Epstein & Komorite, 1966)
2. Skin color is a determinant of self-identification (Clark & Clark, 1940)
3. Skin colour awareness of Negro pre-school children develops early so that they identify themselves with others of similar skin color, particularly when exposed to very different skin colors than their own (Clark & Clark, 1940)
4. In a study of attitude formation and functioning and particularly of emergent self-awareness in reference to specific social groupings or race consciousness as a function of ego-development:

a. identification with the same race picture indicates awareness of ones own skin color

b. ability to identify one self as different from others and like others forms a basis for later group feeling

c. Negro boys identified themselves as white when no choice was available beyond one selection

d. in a choice situation Negroes evidenced knowledge of differences and matched self correctly

e. Negro boys matched themselves with white boys when free to do so

f. some children tended to identify themselves by other than skin color when the situation permitted. (Horowitz, 1939)

Self-Concept: Integration

1. Integrated Negroes differentiate themselves from whites more clearly and are more accepting of their race (Singer, 1967)
2. Self-concept of young Negroes and Puerto Ricans increased with students in integrated schools (Strauss, 1967)
3. Integration may not produce a significant difference in self-concept and anxiety in lower class Negro adolescents (Bienn, 1968)
4. Even after fifteen years school integration and competent facilities, Negroes scored lower than their classmates--partly due to the negative self-image they bring from segregated housing (Lansman, 1968)
5. Self-concept of males increased more than females with desegregation (McWhirt, 1967)

Negro Stereotypes

1. Negroes are seen as superstitious and lazy by college students (Katz & Braly, 1933)
2. Negro children may become prejudiced unintentionally by the stereotyping of Negroes in literature (Deane, 1968)
3. In Negro literature the Negro is never allowed to become a 'real character' or person but remains a stereotype or century old cliche (Deane, 1968)
4. In Negro literature the Negro is presented in children's series as never bad, so never really good (Deane, 1968)
5. Early contacts with Negro stereotypes in literature may have more profound and lasting effects than actual later contacts or social relationships (Deane, 1968)
6. There is no systematic investigation to validate the belief that Negro youths are emotionally overdependent (Cameron)

Negro Pre-Schoolers

Comparing Negro and white pre-schoolers on social, cognitive, perceptual and psychological development:

1. Males were more hyperactive than females
2. Females displayed more thumb-sucking
3. In areas of concept development females were better in naming colors and in number concepts
4. Females display more appropriate social behavior and a higher I.Q. score.
5. White children were more often interested in only one or two subjects or activities than Negro children
6. Negroes are better on physical co-ordination tasks and sensory perception
7. Female white children are less disruptive and better able to remain seated than white and Negro males
8. Female Negroes stammor and stutter less than white males
9. Boys rated happier than the female whites
10. Female Negroes had more difficulty interacting with strangers than white males.
11. Female Negroes were more disturbing and disruptive than white females
12. Female Negroes were more lethargic, apathetic, displayed less energy and drive than male whites (Kohlwes, 1967)

The Negro Child in High School

1. In a high school study:
   a. Negro students participated in fewer extra-curricular activities and held fewer leadership positions beyond university athletics
   b. Negroes showed less self-preference of friends and leaders than white students
   c. Negroes showed more initiative than earlier studies
   d. white Catholic students and Jewish students selected Negroes more than white Protestant students
   e. more social interaction between Negro and white male students than Negro and white females
   f. white student achievement continued at the same level at the same school before and after integration
   g. There were wide differences between low achieving Negroes and high achieving whites, but less so for male Negroes
   h. Negro students' academic achievement and career goals showed an upward trend (Gordon, 1967)

2. In non-rural public co-educational high schools:
   a. Negroes had higher educational aspirations, intellectual orientations than whites
   b. white students tended to be more responsive to social emotional climate of dominant-white high schools but mixed concerning intellectual orientations
   c. family variables including number of siblings affected Negroes, and maternal encouragement affected whites
   d. attitudinal variables affected educational aspirations more than academic achievement
   e. Negroes were more affected by levels of self-esteem, aspirations or peer achievements and sociometric status than whites
   f. the total school effect on Negroes and whites is approximately equal
   g. separate racially determined social sub-systems account for whites being more influenced by global climate than Negroes while Negroes are more affected by interpersonal variables (Meyers, 1967)

V. Expectations

1. Slow learners come to expect failure in school and to fear it (Vosk, 1966)
2. Low socio-economic status Negro coccupational expectations were unrealistic in relation to their occupational preferences (Sain, 1966)
3. Young Puerto Rican children in Harlem had expectations of:
    a. mastery
    b. rewards and encouragements from parents and teachers
    c. acceptance and support from the environment
    d. achieving mastery through diligence (Kandell, 1967)
4. Expectations of teachers about the intellectual competence of the child will affect the performance of that child:
    a. if the expectation is positive the child will accelerate
    b. if the expectation is negative the child's performance will be depressed (Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968)

Aspirations and Achievement Motivation

1. Low motivated lower class students will not increase aspirations after first successes, nor will high motivated students increase their aspirations after initial middle class failures (Henderson, 1967)
2. Negro and white children may have higher aspirations occupationally than their fathers (Brown, 1965)
3. Negroes proportional aspirational level in comparison to fathers' occupation was larger than white students' (Brown, 1965)
4. White students in segregated schools and Negro students in integrated schools increased in their aspirations of a good education, more than segregated Negroes and integrated whites (McWhirt, 1967)
5. Students perceive their parents as having the same aspirations for the students as the students have for themselves (Sain,)
6. Educational aspirations of a sample of Negroes in a low socio-economic setting are as high as the dominant culture (Corwise, 1968)
7. In non-rural public co-educational high schools Negroes had higher educational aspirations than the whites (Meyers, 1967)
8. Attitudinal variables affected educational aspirations more than academic achievement (Meyers, 1967)
9. Negroes were more affected by levels of self-esteem, aspirations, peer achievements and sociometric status than whites (Meyers, 1967)
10. Motivation and self-concept are closely related (Brown, 1965)

11. Negroes become more task and achievement oriented when they expect their behavior to determine highly valued occurrences of reinforcement (Carpenter, 1968)
12. In a study of motivational components of achievement in culturally disadvantaged Negro children:
    a. the need for achievement was related to the risk-taking choices of fifth and sixth grade children in the sample but not to risk-taking behaviors
    b. the need for achievement was more predictable in boys on skill performance while internal-external control related to academic skill for girls only (Carpenter, 1968)
13. In an investigation of differences in achievement motivation between urban Negro educable retardates in regular junior high school and special education classes:
    a. regular class retardates showed greater shifting of aspirational level following success experiences
    b. regular class retardates made higher level future occupation choices
    c. regular class retardates had greater reading achievement and slightly less fear of failure
    d. regular class retardates had more hope of success
    e. regular class retardates were most different from normal and special subjects in their level of aspiration and shifting after success experiences, but all groups proved similar after failure experiences (Zito, 1967)

Achievement

1. In a study of disadvantaged boys:
    a. achievers revealed a higher degree of internalized control
    b. both high and low achievers tended to have realizable vocational goals (except for a limited number of under-achievers)
    c. achievers were more accepting of their ethnic identity than under-achievers
    d. under-achievers revealed a higher level of anti-white feelings (Meyers, 1967)
2. Differences between Negro and white achievement of lower socio-economic class students are maintained even though other variables are controlled. Most of the Negro students had attended Negro schools (Wober, 1967)
3. Within races there were significant class differences on measures of intelligence and school achievement (Tulkin, 1968)
4. No differences were found on school achievement and intelligence measures of upper socio-economic status whites and Negroes when broken homes, maternal unemployment, and crowdedness of home were controlled (Tulkin, 1968)

5. When social class was controlled then no differences were found between races in upper socio-economic class students on school achievement (Tulkin, 1968)
6. Satisfactory subject performance was associated with students liking the teacher (Lichter et al, 1962)
7. Level of school performance is significantly related to Negroes attending Negro schools (Tulkin, 1968)
8. Scholastic achievement is not an explicit 'group' goal in either the predominantly middle class or lower class high school (Gottlieb & Ramsay, 1967)
9. The lower class child placed in a middle class school would experience academic under-achievement, social isolation and indirect rejection (Gottlieb & Ramsay, 1967)
10. Elementary schools that had been integrated for fifteen years with competent staff and facilities still produced Negro students who scored significantly lower than white classmates (Lansman, 1968)
11. General language ability components are the most significant in discriminating between middle class and lower class boys (Ryckman, 1967)

Classification Performance

1. In a study comparing the lower class child to the middle class child:
   a. the ability to classify increases with age
   b. the disadvantaged child proceeds more slowly than the advantaged child
   c. second grade deprived children gave similar performances to middle class children
   d. the disadvantaged appeared less clear in the justification for their performances in classification
   e. race and sex did not differentiate young children in classificatory experiences (Wei, 1967)

Reinforcement

1. For the young, social approval is important but not nearly so powerful as material reinforcers (Hamblin et al, 1969)
2. To be effective rewards must occur in a structured situation in which they are given promptly as recompense (Hamblin et al, 1969)
3. When Negroes expect their behavior to determine highly valued occurrences of reinforcement, they become more task and achievement oriented (Tefcourt & Zadwig, 1965)
4. Using such a special reinforcement program as giving tangible rewards may enable pre-schoolers to learn social skills, language,

and gain increases in I.Q. more effectively (Risley, 1968)

5. Using token exchange as part of a reinforcement program may:
   - a. be more effective the more problematic is the child
   - b. bring two year olds up to a level of five year olds in reading ability
   - c. increase verbalisation (speaking in complete sentences, using better syntax and frequently starting conversation) and decreased class disruption

VI. Attitudes: Student-Teacher

1. Students:
   a. display less difference in attitudes than teachers (Minzey, 1967)
   b. differ with teachers on attitudes regarding school (Minzey, 1968)
   c. dichotomised feelings about teachers so that they were good or bad; affectionate or cold; encouraging or deterring (Lichter et al, 1962)
   d. like a teacher more if they are performing satisfactorily in his subject (Lichter et al, 1962)
2. Drop-outs:
   a. see teacher as punitive and negatively sanctioning through grading
   b. consider the school and staff too indifferent and punitive
   c. may see the teacher as a boring talker
   d. consider the teacher uses ineffective techniques
   e. see teacher as not explaining and clarifying materials (Weber & Motz, 1968)
3. Disadvantaged Negro boys who were under-achieving revealed a higher level of anti-white feelings (Meyers, 1967)
4. High status plus minority group membership of a teacher has the capacity to effect favourable change in minority group attitudes of students (Simpson, 1967)
5. Negro and white students have differences in self-confidence, motivation, and attitudes towards learning (Stabler & Perry, 1967)

Attitudes: Social and Racial

1. Severity of deviation from social norms is related to the reported value system of impulse control of the deviant (Kelly & Veldman, 1964)
2. For white subjects social distance attitudes towards Negroes may be determined by the groups perceived inferior in social status (Epstein & Komorite, 1966)
3. Social class had less influence on Negro than on white children's attitudes (Harris, 1967)
4. Social class is slightly more crucial than race for moral attitudes (Harris, 1967)
5. Subjects given no information regarding a teenage Negro assume a difference in values (Stein et al, 1965)
6. Subjects which are Negroes seemed to be marked as different for whites no matter what other similarities (Stein et al, 1965)

7. In the absence of information about a person of another race persons rely on each other and past experience to make judgements (Stein et al, 1967)
8. There is a tendency for whites with a lack of knowledge about the Negro to guess that the Negro will be unlike the white person (Stein et al, 1967)

Social Distance and Status

1. The higher the Negro's status the less social distance expressed towards him by whites (Westie, 1954)
2. The extent of the Negro's occupational status affects on the distance accorded him, varies with respondent status (Westie, 1954)
3. The within group status of the Negro makes more difference to middle and upper status than lower status whites (Westie, 1954)
4. The higher the socio-economic status of the responding white, the greater the alteraction of response with variations in Negro occupational status (Westie, 1954)
5. Social distance is least when both Negroes and whites have high socio-economic status, and greatest when both have low socio-economic status (Westie, 1954)
6. High ranking professional and white collar Negroes express least distance toward whites while unskilled service Negroes expressed greatest distance (Westie & Howard, 1954)
7. High white status mitigates distance from upper status Negro responses but not for lower status Negro responses (Westie & Howard, 1954)
8. There is an inverse relation between the status of the Negro and the distance accorded to whites. The higher the Negro's status the less distance expressed towards whites (Westie & Howard, 1954)
9. Negroes express the least distance toward high status whites and greatest distance from lowest status whites (Westie & Howard, 1954)
10. Upper status Negroes are less categorical in responses to whites (Westie & Howard, 1954)
11. The lower the status of a minority group in the eyes of the students the greater the ability of a high status person from that minority group to effect favourable change (Simpson, 1967)
12. High status minority group membership effects more favourable attitude change toward the given minority group as one follows a progression from rural, small city to medium and large city (Simpson, 1967)

Integration

1. In integrated middle class school lower class children would experience under-achievement, social isolation and indirect

rejection (Gottlieb & Ramsay, 1967)

2. Integrated elementary schools with competent teachers and facilities still produced Negro students who scored significantly lower than white classmates (Lansman, 1968)
3. Lack of achievement improvement in Negro students in integrated schools may be due to negative self image brought in from segregated housing areas (Lansman, 1968)
4. Integrated schools may be not better than segregated schools controlled by whites, unless they possess a multi-cultural orientation (Forbes, 1969)
5. Integrated schools without a multicultural orientation may be inferior to minority controlled separate schools (Forbes, 1969)
6. Integration may not produce a significant difference in self-concept and anxiety of lower class Negro adolescents (Bienn, 1968)
7. Integrated schools may be associated with positive gains in specific subject area achievement (Klein, 1967)
8. Integrated schools may be associated with an increase in self-concept of young Negroes and Puerto Ricans (Strauss, 1967)
9. Integrated Negroes differentiate themselves more from whites and are more accepting of their race (Singer, 1967)
10. Integrated school white children were more willing to associate with black children in the same school (Singer, 1967)
11. Negro children in an integrated school were more accepting of whites than segregated Negro children (Singer, 1967)
12. Integrated white children saw Negroes as more aggressive and non-achievers, but were more willing to associate with them than lower exposure whites (Singer, 1967)
13. Superior I.Q. white girls in segregated schools and average I.Q. white girls in unsegregated schools were most willing to associate with Negroes (Singer, 1967)
14. High I.Q. Negro girls in integrated and segregated schools were least willing to associate with whites, and saw them as aggressive and non-achievers (Singer, 1967)
15. Negro integrated school boys were more willing to associate with whites than segregated Negro boys (Singer, 1967)
16. Integrated school Negroes were more willing to 'color' themselves in a 'draw yourself' task than segregated students (Singer, 1967)
17. Integration affects on attitudes, academic aspirations and self-confidence included:
    a. males increased rating of self-concept over females
    b. in segregated schools Negro males and white females increased most

c. in integrated schools Negro females and white males increased most

d. white students in segregated schools and Negro students in integrated schools increased in their aspirations of a good education

e. inter-racial contact brought changes in Negro attitudes in integrated schools but not in white students

f. Negro students seeking social behavior modified their behavior more

g. Negro students had greater white contacts while in turn a majority of Negroes had less effect on a white majority (McWhirt, 1967)

18. A training institute of participants in a summer training institute on Negroes and school desegregation where the whites were taught by Negro leaders showed:

    a. reduced authoritarian and ethnocentric attitudes for more favorable ones towards Negroes and school integration

    b. overtly expressed need and behavior for re-evaluation of attitudes contributed to increasingly favorable attitudes yet did not affect attitudes to other minorities

    c. a positive relationship was shown between segregationist attitudes, authoritarianism, and ethnocentrism

    d. where unanimity of group attitudes are broken up positive changes can occur (Kinnick & Platter, 1967)

19. Factors of conservatism, ambivalence towards desegregation go with female elementary school status (Lamanna, 1967)

20. Negro teachers in urban-industrial, large scale communities are more likely to be militant in regard to desegregation (Lamanna, 1967)

21. Differences in learning after a program of instructional techniques with Negroes and whites was attributed to the past segregated environments of the schools (Stabler & Perry, 1967)

VII. Teacher Characteristics

1. Teachers tend to underestimate their importance in social emotional life of students and the positive-negative influences of their words (Lichter et al, 1962)
2. Teachers become socialised on entering the ghetto school system to perpetuate the notion that social conditions outside the school makes failure inevitable and this takes away any responsibility for the students' failure away from the teacher (Stodolsky and Zesser, 1967)
3. Teachers who come out of the slum may deliberately seek the education of poor children but may make the mistake of being too hard on them in an effort to drive them into seeking status themselves (Gottlieb & Ramsey, 1967)
4. Few personality and interest differences were found between disadvantaged and advantaged teacher groups (Nickerson, 1967)
5. Self controlling and over-impulsive, fearful personality types were found more among disadvantaged school lower grade teachers, than advantaged school lower grade teachers (Nickerson, 1967)
6. Negro teachers:
    a. in North Carolina were more militant than had been expected and actively engaged in activities supporting desegregation (Lamanna, 1967)
    b. in urban industrial, large scale communities are more likely to be militant in regard to desegregation (Lamanna, 1967)
7. Married female elementary school teachers tend to be more conservative and ambivalent towards desegregation (Lamanna, 1967)

Teacher-Pupil Authority Relations

In a teacher-pupil authority relations study in a project in Washington D.C.:

1. Students responded to a violent style of teaching with withdrawal, passivity, brief response to questions, and little voluntary and self-initiated reactions
2. In response to the violent-transcendent approach student responses tended to be aspiring ones to move on and do better
3. The transcendent approach appeared more ideal, less possible, focussed best on the most imaginative student and generally produced a greater range of ups and downs
4. The indirect style of hidden authority was viewed as a form of dishonesty by the children and democratic practices involved distrust and game-wrecking behaviors
5. Different styles of teaching are differentiated by children and have different consequences for them (Mann, 1968)

Student-Teacher Attitudes

(See VI. Attitudes)

Teacher Morale

1. Teacher morale varies from school to school (Minzey, 1967)
2. The difference between student's perception of high teacher morale schools and low teacher morale schools may be based on community conditions (Minzey, 1967)
3. Student perception of teacher morale tends to be accurate (Minzey, 1967)
4. The lack of attitude agreement on matter concerning school between teachers and pupils may indicate the independence of students from teachers' influence concerning attitudes (Minzey, 1967)

VIII. Programs

1. Performance of children in 1965 Head Start programs was related to teacher background:
    - a. ethnicity
    - b. marital status
    - c. home community size
    - d. father's occupation
    - e. church attendance
    - f. experience
    - g. grade point average (Linn, 1967)
2. In comparisons [illegible]mmed and conventional instruction techniques between Negro and white university students, post-test scores were reliably higher for students taught by programmed means and for white students (Stabler & Perry, 1967)
3. Learning differences after a program of instructional techniques with Negroes and Caucasians was attributed to the past segregated environments of the schools (Stabler & Perry, 1967)
4. All day compensatory kindergarten can benefit the disadvantaged child academically, but learning and growth rates will diminish when saturation efforts stop and are replaced by traditional programs (Larson & Olsen, 1968)
5. In a training program to train impulsive first-grade children to be more reflective in nurturant child-tutor relations the only important effect of the training was to lengthen the response times to that of normal reflectives, but there was less effect on the quality of the performance.
6. The disadvantaged improved significantly in art ability after an art instruction course (Rogers, 1968)
7. Training disadvantaged children in labelling and discriminating component stimulus attributes resulted in greater attention to these attributes in inductive concept attainment, but in no greater success in solving concept tasks (Kofsky, 1967)

Reinforcement in Programs

1. Using such a special reinforcement program as giving tangible rewards, pre-schoolers may learn social skills, language and I.Q. increases (Risley, 1968)
2. For the young social approval is important but not nearly so powerful as material reinforcers (Hamblin et al, 1969)
3. Token exchange:
    - a. may be more effective the more problematic is the child
    - b. can bring two year olds up to a level of five year olds in reading ability

c. can increase verbalisation (using complete sentences, better syntax, and starting conversation) and decrease class disruption in disadvantaged children (Hamblin et al, 1969)

4. To be effective rewards must occur in a structure situation in which they are given promptly as recompense (Hamblin et al, 1969)

In the remaining pages of this section the recommendations proffered by the various writers will be presented. Several points need to be noted however. First, although the material from which the recommendations come was mostly empirical, not all the recommendations are empirically justified themselves. Second, no attempt has been made to evaluate the recommendations--they are presented for what they are worth to the reader. Third, it has been found convenient to make use of only three broad headings in grouping the items, viz: Teachers; Programs; and Further Research. Each heading however, carries its own sub-sections. These are listed below. The items are presented immediately after the list.

I. Teachers: teacher peformance
and student self-concept and identity
and learning
and ancillary services
and discipline
and reinforcement

II. Programs: general
pre-school and school
and adult models

III. Further Research: general
self-concept
classification performance
attitudes and aspirations
teachers.

I. Teacher Recommendations

Teacher performance. Teachers should:

1. be flexible (Riessman, 1962)
2. be consistent (Riessman, 1962)
3. be direct (Riessman, 1962)
4. be informal (Riessman, 1962)
5. be clear (Riesman, 1962)
6. be warm when realising value differences (Riessman, 1962)
7. endure initial non-acceptance (Riessman, 1962)
8. get through student resistances in an unfearful, direct accepting way (Riessman, 1962)
9. be patient (Riessman, 1962)
10. listen (Riessman, 1962)
11. develop group participation skills (Riessman, 1962)
12. look for and accept signs of student improvement (Lichter et al, 1962)
13. know students' personalities (Brown, 1965)
14. know pressures acting in students (Brown, 1965)
15. emphasise sense of personal over environmental control (Slaughter, 1969)
16. identify and win support of natural leaders (Riessman, 1962)
17. appreciate the interests of the deprived (Riessman, 1962)
18. see that the goals of the deprived in relation to higher education are respected (Riessman, 1962)
19. see that the values and cultural ways of the deprived are respected (Riessman, 1962)
20. should realise that almost every classroom problem has an emotional problem behind it and that children act that way for reasons (Lichter et al, 1962)
21. must recognize and contain their own angry feelings (Lichter et al, 1962)
22. must realise that they cannot get along with all students and handle all classroom problems (Lichter et al, 1962)
23. must be accommodating to changes in class behavior (Lichter et al, 1962)
24. may get gratifications in teaching and helping a maladjusted child (Lichter et al, 1962)
25. know his own strengths and limitations (Lichter et al, 1962)
26. reflect a positive, helpful school attitude and philosophy in the way they handle student problems (Lichter et al, 1962)

Teachers should not:

1. prejudge students (Riessman, 1962)
2. over-generalize about student characteristics (Riessman, 1962)
3. stereotype students (Lichter et al, 1962)
4. have higher expectations of good behavior for a troubled child than for a rarely misbehaving child (Lichter et al, 1962)
5. react to or attack parents (Lichter et al, 1962)

Teachers and student self-concept and identity. Teachers should:

1. be involved in the student's search for self-discovery (Wilcox, 1967)
2. be person- rather than content-centered (Riessman, 1962)
3. be able to identify with the underdog (Riessman, 1962)
4. first teach children to be aware of their own sense of self-worth and constructive capabilities through appropriate and meaningful school activities before they can learn tool subjects (Vosk, 1966)
5. know students as persons (Wilcox, 1967)
6. respect and encourage cultural diversity (Wilcox, 1967)
7. be flexible and sensitive, capable of promoting others' self-development, particularly toward positive realistic employment opportunities (Smith, 1967)
8. try to consider the handling of 'male type'tasks by male teachers to more clearly emphasize six-role identifications and accurate self-other perceptions (Slaughter, 1969)

Teachers and learning

1. The teacher must expect, encourage and support learning efforts (Riessman, 1962)
2. The teacher should emphasize learning over discipline and punishment (Riessman, 1962)
3. Teachers should realize that improvements can be effected in the conceptual development of conceptually deficit adult deprived groups--they would be then less susceptible to presenting an unconscious or subtle self-fulfilling prophecy syndrome in the classroom (Cunningham, 1968)

Teachers and ancillary services

1. The teacher should use school, community and specialist resources fully (Lichter et al, 1962)
2. The teacher should use information and consultative help in working with a troubled child (Lichter et al, 1962)
3. *Teachers should use available consultants in social* work, psychology and psychiatry (Lichter et al, 1962)

Teachers and discipline

1. Teachers dealing with drop-outs should not:
    a. control and motivate by using others as good examples
    b. use students in trouble as bad examples
    c. isolate and emphasize student pathology
    d. make scapegoats out of students (Lichter et al, 1962)
2. Teachers should be patient and not impossible to please (Lichter et al, 1962)
3. Teachers should realize that discipline is necessary, but not automatically and it should be reasonable and in line with the offense rather than the way the teacher feels (Lichter et al, 1962)
4. The teacher should be consistent (Riessman, 1962)

Teachers and reinforcement

1. Teachers should capitalize on any superior qualities of disadvantaged students to apply praise and give esteem (Rogers, 1968)
2. The teacher should not consider that the Negro is not interested in school and learning, but he should teach him to expect and acquire positive social reinforcement (Slaughter, 1969)
3. Teachers should help students reinforce themselves by not penalizing them for what and where they are (Slaughter, 1969)

II. Programs

General recommendations

1. Parents should be involved in programs so that parents and school work together on mutual goals (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)
2. Reference group identification could be used to the student's advantage particularly in teaching verbal oriented courses (Tefcourt & Zadwig, 1965)
3. Racial prejudice may be reduced by bringing persons of different races together where they can encounter one another in conditions favouring perception of belief congruence (Stein et al, 1965)
4. Food or specific physical objects may be needed first to gain reinforcing responses desired (Risley, 1968)
5. Traditional stereotypes of Negro children in literature should be removed and replaced with realistic portraits of Negroes in children's literature (Deane, 1968)
6. Teachers should be aware of the successful attempts at modifying Negro behavior in the direction of greater assertiveness and autonomy (Katz & Cohen, 1962)
7. Fears of desegregation should be reduced to expedite change (Lamanna, 1967)
8. An educational program which is positively self-supporting and encourages mental hygiene is required to alleviate feelings of inadequacy and inferiority in children who have discrepancies between color preference and skin self-identification (Clark and Clark, 1950)
9. There should be determined efforts for the school-community gap to be bridged (Wilcox, 1967)
10. More of an educational obligation and social responsibility should be assumed to pay back deficiencies in the disadvantaged (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)

Pre-school and school programs

1. Good pre-schools are necessary for the disadvantaged student's entrance into public schools (Risley, 1968)
2. Nursery school programs should not be modelled for middle class children (Risley, 1968)
3. The disadvantaged children often have motor skills and interaction patterns but they need:
   a. appropriate content
   b. substitutes for agressive behavior
   c. less reinforcement of disruptive tactics (Risley, 1968)
4. A total curriculum revision of schools' programs is necessary for any lasting solution to problems of the disadvantaged in urban schools (Larson & Olson, 1968)

5. The Federal Government's follow through program concept should be implemented in primary grades and beyond on a non-pilot basis (Larson & Olson, 1968)
6. More after school cross-status child participation programs are needed using adult males and selected high school students possessing diverse skills and community contacts of a non-technical nature at levels attractive to lower class children (Bronfenbrenner, 1967)

Adult role models

There is a need for more Negro and white adults to become occupational role models for lower class Negro students:

1. Middle class models should adopt an attitude of 'cultural relativism' and reference group specificity
2. 'Middle classness' should be meaningful and possible
3. Models should emphasize values of the dominant group and its non-trouble novel activities
4. Models need to convince the lower class child of his ability to control himself and means-ends possibilities
5. The model should understand the child's alienation and desire for acceptance without relinquishing needed autonomy
6. Adult models should be prepared to periodic aspirational relapse by lower class students
7. Every male teacher should be a role model for disadvantaged Negro boys (Henderson, 1967)

III. Further Research

General

1. Analyzing mother-child transactions in more detail than gross social class categories (Hess & Shipman, 1965)
2. On the phenomenon of prejudiced children attributing prejudicial attributes to parents (Epstein & Komorita, 1966)
3. On social differentiation amongst Negroes--the basis on which Negro class distinctions are made (Harris, 1967)
4. On tactual-visual transfer (Fox, 1967)
5. On the possibility of availability of certain stimulus cues and the non-availability of others as obscuring any basis developmental differences (Katz, 1968)

Self-Concept

1. On self-concept formation (Brown, 1965)
2. On: a. the desire of some children to share in self-hood of others despite color differences
    b. the definition of self by a delimiting process of what 'one is not' as a result of earlier minority family influences, conflicts in self-identity acceptance and constriction of self-image choices (Horowitz, 1939)
3. On early influences on group consciousness and identification on ego-development and attitude formation (Horowitz, 1939)
4. On verbal 'person typing' or fantasy control and its relation to children's personality development (Bach, 1946)

Classification

1. On different social classes over a wider range of age to understand the development of classification skills and to answer the problem of 'matching' education and environment (Wei, 1967)
2. On relating classification to other academic performances (Wei, 1967)
3. On teaching procedures to facilitate the child's learning of classification concepts (Wei, 1967)

Attitudes and Aspirations

1. On children's attitudes through time as integration in school progresses (Singer, 1967)
2. On attitude formation of ethnic minority groups (Epstein & Komorita, 1966)
3. On the effect of peer dynamics on vocational aspiration (Brown, 1965)
4. On the relations between Negro social class distinctions and their relation to specific moral attitudes (Harris, 1967)

5. On values and their relation to impulse control (Kelly & Veldman, 1964)
6. On student attitudes and their relation to morale and school variables (Minzey, 1967)

Teachers

1. On the relationship between specific teacher morale and student attitudes (Minzey, 1967)
2. On the psychological significance of perceived similarities of teachers and students (Kagen et al, 1966)
3. On socio-economic conditions which impinge on teachers and students (Minzey, 1967)
4. On teachers' criteria for evaluation of students (Minzey, 1967)
5. On the violent-transcendent style of teaching and its applicability for disadvantaged children (Mann, 1968)

SECTION IV

SUMMATION

If a psychological orientation is to be of use to the teacher of disadvantaged children it must provide a credible answer to our seminal question viz., "given the current state of psychology, what does the teacher of disadvantaged children need to know, think, feel and understand?" Implicit in the question, is the notion that disadvantaged children are somehow different from others. There should be, it implies, a psychology of the disadvantaged. Now in a major sense, this implication violates a fundamental psychological position. Psychology has either not considered the possibility of a psychology of disadvantage or, having considered it, has rejected it out of hand. Because there are several very important implications that arise from the resulting state-of-affairs, some discussion of this point is necessary.

There are two questions that arise immediately. First, what is the current view of what might be called the role of psychology and second, can a logical case be made against its fundamental universalistic assumption.

The nature of psychology

The study of psychology has been defined variously:

> "Psychology is the science of the behavior of living animals. Behavior, not consciousness, is the activity investigated."
>
> (Ray, 1964)

> "In general, the psychologist is interested in the whole individual, in his relation to his surroundings and himself."
>
> (Miller & Chyatte, 1970)

> "Psychology, as a science, describes and explains the observable behavior of organisms."
>
> (McDonald, 1965)

> "Psychology is a branch of science dealing with behavior, acts, or mental processes, and with the mind, self, or person who behaves or acts or has the mental processes."
>
> (English & English, 1965)

" No single statement suffices to explain "what psychology is". It is at the same time method, concept, and people. To put this more specifically, psychology is (1) the scientific method as applied to the study of behavior, (2) a continually changing set of theories or concepts explaining why men and animals behave as they do, and (3) the highly trained and rapidly growing number of people who conduct research, construct theories, teach, and apply psychological techniques, theories, and research findings to the investigation and solution of problems in all areas of life."

(Lindgren, Byrne & Petrinovich, 1966)

Whatever may be the subtle differences among the definitions, they have in common an interest in living organisms, behavior and a scientific approach. When we go beyond the definitions and look at what psychologist do we see considerable concentration on the individual human organisms.

For our purposes then it seems as if the key to the utility of the psychological stance lies in the extent, range and nature of the predictions and explanations psychology can offer about individuals. Now at this point, it is necessary to recognize one of the crosses that social science has to bear--its terminology is often identical with every-day language, but its messages are not. In our democratic society the day-to-day meaning of the word 'individual' is vested with a number of mystical and idealistic overtones. We talk of the sacredness of the individual and of the inviolable rights of the individual. We talk of the individual man cast in the mold of his creator. In contrast, psychologists do (or should, if they are to be scientific) use the word individual to denote an analytic unit. In the scientific sense, an individual is to psychology as an element is to chemistry or as a star is to astronomy or a glacier is to geology or an organisation is to sociology. To be sure, the individual is a complex unit. And to be sure, any given unit has both similarity with and difference from others of its kind. But, and the point is worth stressing, the concept 'individual', represents for the psychologist the means by which he states and confines his scientific interest. It is, for him, the beginning point around which he organizes his own view of the world--

of reality. In other words, it is a conceptual orientation. It represents a preference and a convenience. It is a preference in that the psychologist says, I prefer to be more interested in human units (individuals) than in money, in bridges, in crowds, in wheat, in muscles, in crotchets, or office-blocks. This, of course, is what sets him apart from economists, engineers, sociologists, agronomists, anatomists, musicologists and architects. Again this psychological orientation is convenient because it allows him to make sense of his experiences. He says in effect, if I study the individual I (and others) will gain insight into the nature of this phenomenon; or to put it differently, I will be able to offer explanations of and predictions about individuals. Given the ubiquity of humans such a predilection for the study of individuals seems both reasonable and profitable. However, because of the necessarily confined nature of his interest, the psychologist cannot sufficiently predict or explain for example, the vagaries of the stock-market, the strain tolerance of reinforced concrete, differences in harvest yield, muscular atrophy, symphonic variations or structural properties of laminated hardboard. To sum up then, the psychological view represents a select, and by definition biased, view of the array of complexities to be found in the world around.

Now, it is manifestly true also, that the human individual can be regarded as an extremely complex organism itself. Unlike the relatively simple amoeba, it has a complex neurological, muscular and skeletal system. Its structural characteristics are intriguing and perplexing. Its physiology alone is sufficiently complicated to warrant life times of study and research. Beyond this however, the way the organism functions is even more seductively fascinating. Its motor activity, the articulation of muscle and bone, the pattern of its glandular secretions, the essential rhythm and regularity of its cardio vascular system all merit, and get, intense and continuing attention. As an example of sophisticated engineering, the human organism is without parallel. Such structural and functional detail however, only marginally concerns the psychologist. Again for entirely legitimate reasons he chooses to restrict his field of interest. He excludes from his definition of his study of the individual, matters that more readily are dealt with by neurologists, physiologists, anatomists, endocrinologists and the like. This is not to deny the relevance of such disciplines for psychological interpretation, but in the interests of economy of effort and relevance of interpretation, the psychologist tends to seek explanatory power in factors beyond the limits of neurological, physiological or endocrinological perspectives.

If psychology is concerned (a) with the individual and (b) with explanation and prediction, and if the characteristics of individuals dealt with in the preceding paragraph are excluded, the logical question to ask is, what does psychology predict and explain about the individual? Varied answers could be proffered to this question but again if we sought for common elements among them, we would find recurring and recurring the word 'behavior'. Individuals, as well as 'being', do. Because they 'do', people have been prone to wonder why they do what they do, and have been concerned with predicting what they are likely to do. So the psychologist tends to be interested in this doing aspect. However, predictably the psychological definition of doing, or more properly behavior, is not necessarily identical with the every-day meaning of the word. To the psychologist, behavior is (usually) more than the overtly manifested action of the organism. Rather it includes sub-surface behavior--behavior in the head, or heart or viscera, if you like. To this extent the psychologist has manufactured an internal world for each individual. Then he uses the ideas or concepts that describe this world, to explain and predict to both the internal state of the individual and the behavior he manifests overtly. While the concepts that populate this psychological universe were once exotic and strange, many are now more or less familiar. Thus terms like psychoanalysis, motivation, need, ego, personality and so on have ready currency in everyday conversation. Others like reinforcement, affect, sanctions, and need-achievement are on the fringe of popular parlance, while others like syntality, retinal rivalry, hypermnesia and ethereal, remain exclusive to the select kind of psychologists who find them useful for their own purposes.

The point is that the language of psychology--the conceptual tools of psychology--are used by psychologists in strictly defined and systematic ways. Because of their explanatory usefulness, some of these terms have been popularized and often rendered less precise--in much the same way as the popularization of the term 'virus' has produced a public, generalized meaning that varies from that employed in medical science.

A standard illustration of this point is to be found in the use and interrelationships of the concepts I.Q. and Intelligence. In the years directly after Binet's invention of the term Intelligence Quotient, the convention was to accept that intelligence tests measured an individual's quantity of intelligence. Thus a test sample of intelligence could diagnose both and individual's intellectual condition and his potential in very much the same way that a blood sample could be used to diagnose the state of the entire blood supply. Suffice it to say that psychologists after seeing the extent to which the tests also measure exposure to environmental influences, have severely modified their view of the function of intelligence tests. But, it is not equally apparent that the public at large appreciates this. I.Q. tests are still used as a basis for selection at school and at work and are still used to provide handy labels for categorizing people as bright or dull, normal or sub-normal. It will be readily recognized from all this that in discussing the role of psychology, it is necessary to distinguish carefully between psychologists' psychology and popular psychology. It is necessary as well to recognize the limitations of a psychological explanation of behavior. Some of the problems attendent on this necessity are dealt with below.

If one starts with an instance of social behavior--an individual behaving in a social context--and asks the question, why did he do that, answers of varying degrees of sophistication may be offered. For example, he did it because he was angry, he did it because he was frustrated, because he is hostile, because he comes from a broken home, because his parents rejected him, because he was bottle fed, or punished for enuresis, and so on and so on. But further than this, the explanation can be more microscopic. He did it because of pressure on a cranial nerve, because of hyper-active thyroid, because of metabolic deficiency, because of synoptic disfunction, because of his genetic constitution. Again, but this time the other end of the scale, social psychologists would be prone to explain the behavior in terms of roles, expectations, environmental press, peer group and interpersonal relationships and so on. Such an interpretation in its turn should be seen in contrast with the more macroscopic view of the sociologist who is typically less concerned about individual behavior and more concerned about the general behavioral characteristics of groups or collectivities. It can readily be appreciated that these various views abutt. The sociologist operates at the broadest end of the behavioral continuum, the geneticist at the narrowest while in between fall psychology and social psychology. The point to note particularly, is that psychological explanation like any conceptual orientation is inevitably restricted at both ends. At its broad end, its knowledge has to be supplemented by 'outside' knowledge if better predictive and explanatory power is to be achieved. At the narrow end, its own explanatory power can be enhanced by an analysis finer than psychology has the power to do. The question of the relative explanatory status of the different social sciences has been a matter of some contention in the past. The reductionistic argument was once fashionable. It claimed that all sociological explanation in the final analysis could be reduced to psychological terms. Similarly,it was argued, all psychological explanation in the final analysis could be reduced to biochemical terms. The resolution of the particular impasse that resulted was achieved by the acceptance of the fact that psychological explanation is useful for some purposes, sociological explanation is useful for others and biochemical explanation for others again. Deciding which one to use then, is a matter of determining what sort of problem has to be solved. Obviously an attempt to find a biochemical explanation of classroom problems is less likely to be relevant to teachers than would be a psychological one. Consequently it is essential for our purpose to pose the pragmatic question--of what use is this, that or the other piece of psychological insight.

A Psychology of Disadvantage

We turn now to a brief examination of the possibility that a special psychology of disadvantage might be either fruitful or forthcoming. Immediately a problem looms. Psychology, as we have seen, is a science that studies the human organism. But disadvantage is a socially delineated rather than organismicly delineated concept. Disadvantage is a term of comparison that often has value overtones--sometimes substantial ones. To be disadvantaged one has to possess less of a valued commodity than does someone else--whether the commodity is money, possessions, education, knowledge, experience, or height or weight. To define a population as disadvantaged then is to apply a commodity measure to humans. In effect, some humans are thus regarded as being deficient. Who sets the criterion, on what basis and for what reasons, are sometimes issues of considerable relevance. One man's disadvantage is sometimes another's privilege. In other words, the criterion, the cutting line between advantage and disadvantage is sometimes quite arbitrary.

Now, let us for the moment accept a psychological convention that regards heredity and environment as complementary influences in human development. In this view, the limits of development are determined genetically and the extent of development achieved is a function of socialisation. Fairly clearly then, if one accepts the idea of defining a population as disadvantaged, the judgement stresses the significance of environmental factors. However, at this point we have to consider psychology's basic universalistic assumption. To psychology, a human being is a human being is a human being. In other words, psychology finds it convenient to focus on what human beings appear to hold in common. Now if this is the case it is obvious that there is a predisposition in psychology to either (1) stress the significance of human genetics or (2) assume that socialisation environments have so much in common that they need not be given undue weight. It is probably fair to say that psychology tends to regard the environment as responsible for modifying the rate and sometimes the direction of human development but not to the extent that human development can be seen to be strikingly different from one environment to another. There are good reasons for this position. For example, it is obvious that almost invariably, from conception, an individual's height and weight tends to increase for a recognisable period. It is obvious too that under normal circumstances his sensory reactions become more and more refined. It is not surprising then to find Frank (1967) talking of 'developmental stages' and Havighurst (1952) of 'developmental tasks'. Nor is it surprising that Piaget working (brilliantly) with an extremely small sample, talks also in terms of ages and stages (1952). It is not surprising to find Kohlberg (1970) incorporating the ideas of sequential levels into his fascinating interpretation of the development of moral judgement. Developmental psychology has proved a very useful way for educationists to look at pupils. However, kike any other conceptual orientation it dictates the rules of its own game. Thus when comparisons are made between child and child, group and group, and difference is discerned, the only conclusion that can be reached is that one or other is ahead or behind--one or other is developmentally disadvantaged. It is this sort of inevitable conclusion for instance, that has led a host of linguistically unsophisticated researchers into black language to conclude erroneously that black children are developmentally deficient. (See Adams, Sobin & Lockerman) In fact, when anthropological linguists undertake the same kind of linguistic analysis of non-standard Negro American speech that has been applied to standard American, they discern a similar degree of grammatical, phonological and semantic complexity. Of course, ghetto children do not meet the language performance criteria appropriate for white middle class children but then neither would French children, or Spanish children, or for that matter Scottish and perhaps even some English children--irrespective of their social class. The point that is being made here is that developmental psychology has a built-in assumption of performance relativity and a built-in assumption of virtue relativity too--the higher the level the better the performance. What is not accommodated is the idea of permitted, or if you will, socially relevant difference.

This last point needs elaboration. It is apparent that non-standard Negro English is functional for the non-standard speaker when it is used in the appropriate non-standard language contexts. It is not functional when it is used in standard ones. However, the reverse holds too. Standard English is quite dysfunctional, quite inappropriate in non-standard language settings. This suggests of course, that it might be entirely reasonable when adopting a developmental language view, to argue that there may be one developmental sequence appropriate for white middle class suburbia, and another for the black ghetto. Rather than fixing on one developmental sequence--a white, Anglo-Saxon, middle class one--and using it as the norm, it may be reasonable to consider alternative forms. However, even if this was done, it is predictable, given education's essential concern for progressive development, that within a given cultural context, assessment will have to be made of the relative sophistication of each stage. That judgement however, would necessarily have to be based on norms that are considered appropriate for that control group.

If the argument just advanced seems reasonable, one is forced to consider the possibility that psychologies of different cultural groups might be feasible. Such a suggestion does not seem altogether unreasonable when we apply it to countries vastly different from our own. There is ample evidence that Asian, Indian, African cultures manifest different viewpoints, different attitudes and different interpretations of reality. It would not be unreasonable then to envisage a 'psychology of the Asian', 'of the African' and so on. It is much less easy to contemplate the possibility of a psychology of the 'American disadvantaged'. Yet if the principle is sound, it ought to be reasonable to at least conjecture about the fruitfulness of such a viewpoint. To do so however, would require the development of a meta-psychology that would specify the way in which a psychology is constructed. It would specify in other words, the rules of the psychologising game. In this sense it would be like the grammar writing specifications that linguists use when writing a grammar for a newly identified language group.

Despite the theoretical utility of such a development, there is no doubt that psychology is at the moment not inclining towards it. To all intents and purposes, human, constitutional commonality is recognized as more salient than is social difference. To this extent, any use that can be made of psychological insights and understandings is contingent on the recognition of this common heritage. Under such circumstances it is necessary for the teacher of disadvantaged children to be exposed to whatever psychology is seen as relevant for the education of the universal child. In other words, as psychology sees it presently, there are no reasons for assuming that the disadvantaged child is different in kind--only in degree of development. More will be said about this last issue later, but one final point has to be made before a more specific treatment of the teacher training issue can be undertaken.

It will have been obvious throughout the paper that the initial discussion about the disadvantaged became gradually transmuted into a discussion of cultural difference. Two principal issues are involved in the transmutation--first, whether or not we are talking about individuals or collectivities, and second, whether or not it is reasonable to talk about, as it were, the 'culture of disadvantage'. Each will be dealt with in turn. It is generally assumed that a teacher teaches individual children. (Although Bordua has wryly noted that while policemen are trained in mob psychology but in fact deal principally with individuals, teachers are trained in individual psychology and in fact have to deal with mobs (groups) (Adams, Ahamad & Jameson, 1970).) Be that as it may, the teacher is concerned with the improvement of each individual child's performance. To this extent every teacher's business is with disadvantage--all children, compared with what the teacher hopes for them, are disadvantaged. More realistically though, to the teacher of children who are designated as disadvantaged, i.e. who are from low income areas, the problem for her is to sort out probabilities. She has in fact, to make a judgement about (a) the probability that the children in her class will have 'developed' in a certain manner and to a given stage, and (b) the probability that under her tuition they will be able to develop further. Now such probabilities are assessed by the teacher not on a careful diagnosis of each individual child (system exigencies prevent it), but on data derived from the study of children like hers. Much of these data are group data resulting from examinations of disadvantaged 'types'. Now, as any responsible sociologist will point out, such data are unlikely to provide anything but a very primitive basis for predicting to individual behavior. To this extent then, the data on the under-privileged as a group may only be of marginal relevance to the teacher as far as telling her what she should do as she goes about her teaching job. However, such data are relevant in that they provide her with a repertoire of alternative expectations and responses from which she may chose in order to begin her search for the appropriate individualistic treatment. Without such information she is even more locked into her own prejudices, stereotypes and biases.

The relevance of such data however, depends on exactly what is meant by the word underprivileged. This brings us back to a consideration of the isomorphism of 'underprivilege' and 'culture'. Conventionally, the concept of culture implies social contact--a web or network of communication and interaction wherein norms of behavior are established and values are stored. Usually there is a sense of community evidenced in the manifested form of the culture concept. Usually there is some geographical definition--although in the case of Jewish culture this is largely lacking. The essential characteristics of culture seem to be, (1) behavioral characteristics held in common, and (2) inter-member communication (present or past). Now it is obvious that the disadvantaged have the first of these. For reasons that are no doubt attributable to their economic condition, they have many behavioral characteristics in common. However, it is not necessarily the case that those on low incomes have a 'community' defined by interaction and designated by their own consequently developed ethos. So in the conventional sense it is inappropriate to talk of the culture of disadvantage--the phenomenon of disadvantage, yes, the culture of disadvantage, no. In other words, information derived from the study of the disadvantaged is as non-cultural as is information derived from the study of aphasics, or the hyper-active, or the physically handicapped, and so on. However, there is a subtle difference between these two kinds of conditions cited. The aphasic, the hyper-active and the physically handicapped display the property that defines them--the characteristic is visible and some of the behavioral contingencies are predictable. The disadvantaged child does not necessarily display his disadvantage and, none of the behavioral contingencies are necessarily predictable. In fact, any inference made from knowledge of a family's socio-economic level can only be--as we said earlier--a probability (or more properly, a 'possibility') statement.

How then has this merging of the idea of disadvantage and culture come about? If one uses an economic criterion for defining disadvantage and then maps the location of disadvantaged families, it is quite apparent that homogeneous concentrations of population can be identified--especially in cities. It is also apparent that humans display territorial patterns of behavior--they confine their activities to geographically defined areas. Those who live in ghettos are no exception. Consequently a study of their territoriality--which involves a recognition of where people go and with whom they communicate--reveals a network of interactive relationships more or less defined by the ghetto. In other words, there is a discernible network with identifiable inhabitants. Given the common economic condition and the network of relationships then, the pre-requisites for the emergence of a culture are there. Consequently the question arises; is there a ghetto culture and if so what is its character? The quick answer to the question is that there are ghetto cultures that vary situationally. The extent to which the characteristics of any ghetto culture have formed and may be identified is probably a function of factors other than economic and communication commonality. Where there is additional common ground, for example ethnic origin, religious belief, occupation and so on, there is greater likelihood of emergences of distinctive cultural features. Where there is not, the growth of a culture of common behavior values and norms is probably dependent on the length of time a territory has been occupied, and the extent of mobility into it and out of it. It follows then that a study of the social phenomenon of disadvantagement under these circumstances may turn in two directions. In the first, the emphasis can be placed on what is common to all ghetto cultures that are separately identifiable. In the second, emphasis is placed on the specific character of any given ghetto.

We can now return to the question, of what use will psychological insight be to the teacher of disadvantaged children. But we can now do so with some awareness of the constraints and limitations that apply to the particular circumstances. When these constraints are recognized, it seems as if the teacher may gain the following utility from an appropriate psychologically orientated curriculum that makes specific reference to disadvantaged children:

(1) an awareness of the universality of psychological principles--irrespective of 'race, color or creed'--together with perhaps a recognition of the implications of psychology's universalistic assumptions.

(2) an understanding of the applicability of psychological concepts in the understanding of human behavior--her children's and her own.

(3) an appreciation of the comparative and value components in the utilisation of a developmental orientation.

(4) knowledge of differences in socialising contexts and the fact

that although the process of individual development seems constant, those factors that precipitate it are not culturally identical.

While the remainder of this paper will bear these four central ideas in mind, there is a further catalog of sub-issues that cross-cut each of them. They need to be surfaced now. The best way to do so seems to be by starting from the situation that confronts the teacher in the classroom.

At any given point in time a teacher is faced with an essential problem of prediction. She has to assess the consequences of undertaking any of the alternative forms of action she has available to her. Time and time again she acts on the assumption that if X then Y--"if I do so and so, then the pupil(s) will do such and such". Now any action can be seen as having certain effects. The effects that are of professional concern to the teacher are learning effects. These learning effects, as Bloom suggests (1956), can be grossly categorized in terms of cognitive, affective and psycho-motor effects. For each of these, there may be a variety of contents, which may or may not fall under the conventional definition of school subject matter. Consequently the choice of what to cognize or know about, to feel about, and to be able to do, is theoretically as wide as everything that can be known about, or felt about, or done. Modifying the teacher's situation further however, is the fact that it is she who is responsible for the initiation of any socialising experiences. And she, like any other human being, is limited by her own capabilities. Some of her capabilities are genetically determined and some environmental. It follows then that to the extent that she is aware of the etiology of her own limitations and the consequences of her own socialisation, she will be more (or less) proficient. Finally, whatever she does will be contextually constrained too. The setting she finds herself in, the organisation that embeds it, and the educational institution that encompasses both, will effect her behavior and that of her pupils.

In brief summary then we may conclude that whatever she decides to do rests on the astute exploitation of the existential conditions that confront her. The general principle that must presumably inform her judgement is that:

for these pupils (this pupil) at this time, in this situation and with me as a teacher, this action would appear to be the most productive of the consequences I would regard as educationally desirable.

However, such a general principle does not permit the situation to be seen in specific enough detail. One form of necessary refinement may be achieved by envisaging the situation as a stimulus-response condition. The teacher as the initiator is about to provide the stimulus which supposedly will produce the desired response. The teacher is at a choice point. She has to select from among her repertoire a stimulus appropriate to the situation. Now what determines the appropriateness of the stimulus is the (as yet unknown) response it will induce. And what determines the response is the responder's perception of the stimulus --the way he interprets it. There are, of course, three logically possible consequences of any given stimulus initiation. First, the stumulus may not be perceived at all. For example, many of the control signals (stimuli) sent by middle class teachers are not picked up by children from the lower class at all. Second, the stimulus may be perceived by the receiver in a way that is different from the perception of the sender. For example, requiring a Mexican-American child to 'speak out' can be seen by the pupil as an injunction to behave in a disrespectful way. Third, complete isomorphism may exist between the sender's and receiver's perception of the stimulus--both are identical. Presumably the last is the most functional for education and most desirable from the teacher's point of view.

It follows from this that the teacher needs to be acutely aware of the way in which her signals (stimuli) may or may not be received. However, in two senses, perception is a function of conception. For instance, (1) at conception, the limits of human development are, it is thought, genetically determined, and (2) whatever is perceived is rendered meaningful only because an intellectual system of conceptualisation gives the percept meaning (in a reciprocal fashion, any conceptual system is limited by the kind and variety of perceptions available during its process of formulation). While both of these issues are highly important, they can only be given brief attention here. In any course of teacher training they would have to be subjected to considerable elaboration.

Genetic determination. It seems fairly obvious that some kinds of intellectual performance are beyond the capability of any human. In just the same way that we cannot imagine the 'one minute mile' we cannot imagine a human being competing effectively with the split second calculation performance of a computer. Again there is evidence that malformation (or absence) of specific brain cells, affects behavior. And it is known that some malformations are due to genetic causes. But this sort of knowledge provides only a crude basis for drawing conclusions about the precise nature of genetic influences. In fact the genetic 'evidence' that is often invoked to 'explain' intellectual (and other) performance is inferential only. It is assumed that because a performance does not appear to be able to be explained otherwise, it must therefore be attributable to genetic factors (vide Jensen, 1969). However, there are three conditions that must be satisfied if genetic determination is to be proven, viz:

(1) distinctive gene difference must be identified

(2) the relationship between specified differences and performance differences must be clearly established, and in such a fashion that environmental conditions are controlled.

(3) performance criteria must be culture-free or culture-fair.

It is unequivocally true that such conditions have not been met yet. Consequently, any interpretations of genetic causality have to be treated with considerable caution. This holds whether one is concerned with an individual child's intellectual performance or the performance of a socially or culturally identified group. Despite Jensen's (1969) position, the statement that best reflects current psychological thinking on genetic based ethnic difference in intelligence, still remains the one produced by Klineberg for Unesco (1951). Its basic tenet is that the case for (or against) the idea of racially or ethnically determined intellectual inferiority remains unproven. The appreciation of this position is probably extremely critical for the teacher of disadvantaged children. In the absence of such knowledge, she may be inclined to operate on the basis of illegitimate stereotypes, in effect assuming that some children and some ethnic groups are less capable of development than in fact they are.

Conceptualisation. At the crudest level of definition, any concept is a sensory stimulus that has a meaning. The process of rendering the stimulus meaningful involves for the individual, first a reception of the stimulus, second the differentiation of certain stimuli from others, and third the allocation of a label. In this way we come to *see* a table, to *hear* a scream, to *smell* ham and eggs, to *touch* roughness and so on. Unless we have developed a uniquely personal form of labelling, such labels are ready-made for us by the members of the social network to which we belong. We come, in other words, to learn their labels. So it follows that if we inhabit the white, Anglo-Saxon mid-west, American, social network, we will learn *one* label for snow. If we were inhabitants of the arctic Esquimaux network, we would have seven. Similarly, as members of the Anglo-Saxon language community, the structures characteristic of our sentences will differ from the 'subject-a name-extras-object-verb' order of classical Latin. So, of course, will the words themselves. Even more interestingly however, because words as concepts are labels of reality, we can infer from the study of words the way in which people see reality. So for example, to the Wintu, luck is seen quite differently from the way it is seen to us. Lee (1959) records that

> "The hunter who has lost his luck does not say, *I cannot kill deer any more* but *Deer don't want to die for me any more....* luck is phrased passively... in terms of non-actualised reality"

Again, Loflin's studies (1966) of non-standard Negro English lead him to conclude that there are structures in Negro language that do not appear in standard American English. These, far from being 'errors' constitute a highly legitimate but different way of looking at things.

There are two implications of the discussion to this point. First, an individual's perception of reality is in fact a function of his prior socialisation. In other words, the experiences that he has had determine what he can see, and what he can label. These, in turn, effect the range and power of cognitive manipulations he can perform. If evidence to support this statement were needed, the most dramatic illustration available is to be found in the case of extreme isolation reported by Kingsley Davis (1952). It records how an illegitimate daughter and her deaf and dumb mother were kept in a confined, stimulus-impoverished environment for some seven years, and how the child developed from a primitive organism to a normal one once an experience-rich environment was substituted. The second implication that arises from the general discussion is that prior socialisation experiences are largely a function of the life styles of the inhabitants of the individual's environment. In so far as the inhabitants have stimulus-varied environments or (from the school's point of view) stimulus-relevant environments, then the child will be socialised accordingly--he will be familiar with a variety of stimuli and he will be familiar with stimulus-responses that would find favor in the eyes of the school. Two warnings have to be given at this point however. While it is easy to identify a stimulus-bereft environment like the one reported by Davis, it does not necessarily follow that a stimulus-*different* environment is necessarily bereft. In other words, because of his own socialisation (bias) an observer of a different environment may not be able to discriminate the array and variety of stimuli as they would be seen by the inhabitants themselves. Again the school itself can suffer from similar myopia, and fail to recognize the cultural biases that channel and constrict its view of appropriate responses and hence appropriate stimuli.

We can now return to the teacher, her classroom and her problem of choosing among stimuli. Her first task was to choose stimuli that would be likely to be perceived by the pupil in approximately the same way as she herself perceived it. This would require her to have some knowledge of the cognitive life space of the child. If she does not have it (and it is likely that she does not) then the next best thing is to have some generalised knowledge of life-space conditions of children like these--merely so that her probability of success increases. The course of training them should supply this knowledge. Contemporary knowledge of the life-space of the disadvantaged should be made available to her so that its distinctive differences can be appreciated. Necessarily, such knowledge would have to be devoid of value judgements that carry implications of the disadvantaged's inferiority.

Now once again, back to the teacher. She has at this point chosen from her repertoire the stimuli that she thinks can be perceived. Her next task is to choose among them again, this time on the basis of the affective loading they carry. This is because the probability of response is a function of the saliency of the stimulus--the greater the salience, the greater the likelihood of response. Fairly clearly, we are now dealing with the complicated and vexed subject of motivation. The position taken here is that motivation is in part,a function of the context. Stimuli that carry high affective loading will motivate. If the loading is positive affect (I like it) then the motivation will be in one direction. If the loading is negative affect, then motivation will be in another. Whether a given stimulus is positively or negatively loaded for an individual however, is a function of his prior socialisation. Again, one man's positive in another's negative. For example, nudity in films may be greeted with delight by some, disdain by others and dismay by others yet again. The teacher's problem of ensuring that the stimulus is appropriately loaded raises another issue. Any stimulus (i) originates from a source, (ii) occurs in a context, and (iii) has a (perceived) meaning content. Now all or any of these may influence the manner in which the stimulus is received. In other words, for the same individual receiver, the same stimulus can invoke different responses if the source is changed or if the setting is changed. For example, a rebuke may be acceptable from a male teacher but not from a female one, or when boys are present but not when girls are. In a similar fashion, the stimulus may be effected by what has immediately preceded it. In other words, the simple S-R situation that was posed earlier to enable the discussion to proceed is a gross over-simplification. Not only is it highly artificial to think in terms of one stimulus rather than a stream of stimuli and responses (which are also stimuli), but also to divorce the interaction from its context, and from the participants. Despite its apparent simplicity then,even one interaction between one pupil and one teacher is a multi-faceted, multi-variant situation.

Compounding the difficulties further are two other issues. Given the educating purposes that teachers have, it follows that teachers will want to load some 'stimuli' with positive affect and others with negative affect. They will be concerned with preventing undesirable pupil performances and promoting desirable ones. What the teacher needs to do is much easier in the stating than in the executing. If she wants to promote a given behavior she needs to have the source of the stimulus loaded with positive affect or the stimulus content loaded with positive affect, or, preferably, both. If she wishes to prevent a given behavior, again she needs to have the source of the stimulus loaded positively but the content not. Clearly, if source and content (and context) are all heavily loaded with positive affect, then the content of the stimuli will be acceptable and the attitudes towards all three will be accepting. If they are not, then the reverse holds good. The trick for the teacher however, is to know what carries positive affect for what children.

In so far as reinforcement theory (Skinner, 1938) states a general principle that relates affect to learning, it is relevant to teachers of the disadvantaged. However, its applicability depends on the identification of appropriate reinforcements. Children, after all are not hungry pigeons. If the earlier stated principle of the relativity of affective loading is valid, a negative reinforcement for white middle-class children may be a positive one for some ghetto children. Such a proposition would be consistent with the learning results reported by Bereiter and Englemann (1968) and the rationalization of authoritarian procedures often expressed by ghetto teachers. However, a warning is necessary again. Without evidence to indicate the range, variety and effects of different reinforcements, caution should be exercised.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to acknowledge another deficit in our understanding of the education of disadvantaged children. As reviewers of teacher effectiveness research have repeatedly asserted (Barr, 1961) (Biddle & Ellena, 1964) (Flanders, 1970) etc., we still remain unable to describe what the good teacher does, and prescribe what the good teacher should do. This state of affairs is due not only to the somewhat nebulous and mutually contradictory definitions of educational objectives that have characterised educational theorizing for years, but also often to the quaint design of 'evaluation' experiements. Generally they have used input-output models that either ignored the process that intervened between input and output, or else assumed rather than determined what the process was, or else defined the process in such general terms that its influence was, by definition, vitiated. Now, if teaching is a transaction between teacher and taught, presumably what control can be exerted over the effects of teaching must be exerted on that transaction. Currently, we remain substantially ignorant about this transaction--although it must be admitted, interest and effort is burgeoning (see for example, Bellack et al (1966), Jackson (1968), Smith and Geoffrey (1965), Adams and Biddle (1970)).

It follows from this neglect of classroom as an object of research that teachers remain substantially in ignorance of its nature as a social system. And as a social context the classroom influences the socialisation of those who inhabit it. So as well as appreciating the non-school contexts in which disadvantaged children find themselves, their teachers would need to know their own classroom settings as well. Such an injunction implies that group dynamics and sociometry would be legitimate fields of study for teachers. Insofar as they are relevant to educational settings this is correct. But both in fact, can be subsumed under the general heading of social context. Any training course for teachers of disadvantaged children would necessarily consider both.

Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this chapter to suggest some answers to the question, "of what use might psychological insight and understanding be to the teacher of disadvantaged children?" In broad terms the answer has been that it would help her to understand them. In other words, it would help her to predict their behavior (broadly defined) with greater accuracy. It was assumed that with such an awareness would come greater facility in manipulating the teaching situation to the advantage of her children's education. The answers also indicated that psychological insight could lead to self-insight--again with the presumed result of influencing her behavior in a direction that was educationally positive.

What the answer did not do was state in explicit detail the content or character of the experiences that teacher trainees should have in order to become psychologically insightful. Apart from the fact that such a statement was not intended, the principal reason for not attempting to provide it was that such an undertaking needs meticulous and careful planning. Such planning calls for cooperation between psychologists and educationists so that a bridge between psychology and educational practice can be constructed solidly. This report has attempted to do no more than provide a framework--provide in broad general terms the basis from which behavioral objectives for trainee teachers can be devised. The process of producing viable behavioral objectives is a complicated and demanding one. It requires first the mapping of a domain of endeavor--a map that will be be inevitably circumscribed by exigencies like for instance, the time available, the resources available, relationships with other aspects of the program and so on. It requires second, the explicit statement of principal objectives and third, a clear elaboration of the sequence by which immediate objectives led inexorably to distant ones. It requires fourth, the seeking of evidence to justify confidence in the procedures proposed--old evidence where available, new evidence where not. It requires fifth, the selection of media most appropriate for the stated objectives, whether the media be books, or film strips, or transparencies, or audio tapes, or video tapes, or learning programs, or C.A.I. or simulation. Clearly such an endeavour requires resources beyond those available for the current task. What has been attempted here however, is the establishment of a rational basis from which to work. If it has been successful then systematic planning and development can follow. Nonetheless whether or not it is successful, the principle upon which it rests is incontestable. Without evidence that can demonstrate the viability of proposed reform, without a rationale for the process, without a theoretical framework to integrate it, any attempted reformation of disadvantaged education is little better than one monkey on one typewriter. Under such circumstances Hamlet will remain long unwritten.

Bibliography

(References not found elsewhere in the Report)

Adams, R.S., Ahmad, K. & Jameson, R. Sociology and the Training of Teachers of the Disadvantaged, Final Report, Part II, U.S.O.E., University of Missouri, 1970.

Adams, R.S., Sobin, N.J. & Lockerman, G. Linguistics and the Training of Teachers of the Disadvantaged, Final Report, Part I, U.S.O.E., University of Missouri, 1969.

Adams, R.S. & Biddle, B.J. Realities of Teaching, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Barr, A.S. Wisconsin Studies of the Measurement and Prediction of Teacher Effectiveness: A Summary of Investigations, Madison, Wisconsin, Dembar Publication, 1961.

Bellack, A.A. et al. The Language of the Classroom, New York, Teachers College, Columbia Press, 1961.

Bereiter, Carl & Englemann, S. Language Learning activities for the disadvantaged child, New York, B'nai B'rith, 1968.

Biddle, B.J. & Ellena, W.J. Contemporary Research on Teacher Effectiveness New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Bloom, B.S. (ed.) Taxonomy and Educational Objectives: Handbook I: Cognitive Domain, New York, McKay, 1956

Davis, Kingsley, Final Note on a Case of Extreme Isolation, in Schuler, E.A. et al (eds.) Outside Readings in Sociology, New York, 1952.

English, H.B. & English, A.C. A Comprehensive Dictionary of Psychology and Psychoanalytical Terms, New York, McKay, 1965.

Flanders, N. Teacher Effectiveness, in R.L. Ebel, (ed.) Encyclopedia of Educational Research, Toronto, Collier-MacMillan, 1969.

Frank, L.K. The Fundamental Needs of the Child, Massey Education Association (N.Z. edition), 1967.

Havighurst, R.J. Developmental Tasks and Education, New York, McKay, 1952.

Jackson, P.W. Life in Classrooms, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Jensen, A.R. How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement, Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, No. 1, 1969.

Klineberg, O. Race and Psychology, UNESCO, Paris, 1951.

Kohlberg, W. Unpublished Research, Harvard University, 1970.

Krathwohl, D.R., Bloom, B.S. & Masia, B.B. Taxonomy of Education Objectives: Handbook II: Affective Domain, New York, McKay, 1964.

Lee, D. Freedom and Culture, New Jersey, Spectrum, Prentice Hall, 1959.

Lindgren, H.C., Byrne, D. & Petrinovich, L. Psychology: An Introduction to a Behavioral Science, New York, Wiley, 1966.

Loflin, M.D. A Note on the Deep Structure of Non-Standard English, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., 1966.

McDonald, F.J. Educational Psychology, Belmont, California, Wadsworth, 1965.

Miller, J.G. & Chyatte, C. Psychology, in Encyclopedia Brittanica, Benton, 1970.

Piaget, J. The Origins of Intelligence in Children, New York, International Universities Press, 1952.

Ray, W.S. The Science of Psychology, New York, MacMillan, 1964.

Skinner, B.F. The Behavior of Organisms, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1938.

Smith, L.M. & Geoffrey, W. The Complexities of an Urban Classroom, New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965.